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RELIGIOUS LIBERALS IN COUNCIL

EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE
NATIONAL FEDERATION
OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

AT BOSTON, MASS.

November 25 and 26, 1917

Proceedings and Papers

I. Congress Sermon:

"A New Heaven and a New Earth." RUFUS M. JONES,
LITT.D.

II. The Message of Religious Democracy.

1. Freedom. JESSE H. HOLMES, PH.D.
2. Fellowship. CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D.
3. Service. PROF. HARRY F. WARD.
4. Reverence. RABBI HARRY LEVI.

III. Problems of a New World Order.

1. Problems born of the War. DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT.
2. Some Religious Problems. DANIEL EVANS, D.D.

IV. Social Reforms as Religious Duties.

1. Fundamental. The Spirit of Justice and Good-Will.
FREDERIC W. PERKINS, D.D.
2. Some Labor Problems. HENRY STERLING.
3. Abatement of Poverty. THOMAS N. CARVER, L.D.D.
4. The Temperance Movement. MRS. WILLIAM TILTON.
5. The Colored Race in the United States. WILLIAM
N. DEBERRY, D.D.

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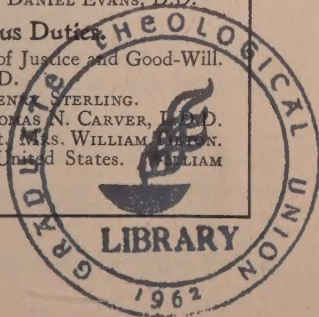
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REPORT OF THE

Eighth Congress

OF THE

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

IN

BOSTON, MASS.

November 25 and 26, 1917

By Invitation of Ministers and Churches of Boston

"The purpose of the Federation is to promote the religious life by united testimony for sincerity, freedom, and progress in religion, by social service, and a fellowship of the spirit beyond the lines of sect and creed."

"Participation in the Federation will leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone."

LOCAL COMMITTEE OF INVITATION.

Rev. WILLIAM J. BATT, Corresponding Secretary of The Ministers' Union.
Rev. FREDERICK A. BISBEE, D.D., Editor *Universalist Leader*.
Rev. WOODMAN BRADBURY, Minister Old Cambridge Baptist Church.
Rev. CHARLES CONKLIN, D.D., Minister First Universalist Church, Brookline.
Rev. SAMUEL M. CROTHERS, D.D., Minister First Parish, Cambridge.
Rev. CHARLES F. DOLE, D.D., Minister-Emeritus First Congregational Society of Jamaica Plain.
Rev. CHRISTOPHER R. ELIOT, Minister Bulfinch Place Chapel.
Rev. SAMUEL A. ELIOT, D.D., President American Unitarian Association.
Rev. DANIEL EVANS, D.D., Professor Andover Theological Seminary.
Rev. PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM, D.D., Minister Arlington Street Church.
WILLIAM CHANNING GANNETT, Vice-President Free Religious Association.
Rev. FREDERIC GILL, First Congregational Parish, Arlington.
Rev. GEORGE A. GORDON, D.D., Minister Old South Church.
Rev. H. CLINTON HAY, Minister Church of the New Jerusalem.
Rev. GEORGE HODGES, D.D., Dean Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge.
Rabbi HARRY LEVI, Congregation Adath Israel.
Rev. LEE S. MCCOLLESTER, D.D., Dean Crane Theological School, Tufts College.
Rev. ALEXANDER MANN, D.D., Rector Trinity Church.
President LEMUEL H. MURLIN, LL.D., Boston University.
Rev. A. J. MUSTE, Minister Central Congregational Church, Newtonville.
Rev. AUGUSTUS P. RECCORD, Minister Church of the Unity, Springfield.
Rev. CHARLES F. RICE, D.D., Lynn, President Massachusetts Federation of Churches.
Rev. EDWARD TALLMADGE ROOT, Secretary Massachusetts Federation of Churches.
Rev. WILLARD F. SPERRY, D.D., Minister Central Congregational Church.
Rev. EMILIUS W. SMITH, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. JOHN G. TAYLOR, Arlington, Mass.
WILBUR K. THOMAS, Society of Friends.
Rev. EDWARD E. WEAVER, Ph.D., Minister First Presbyterian Church, Waltham.

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

was organized at Philadelphia, December 2, 1908, at a private conference of representative liberal religious thinkers and social workers of the United States. Its purpose is to unite and concentrate the forces which make for religious sincerity, freedom, fellowship, and progress in America, and bring them into council and co-operation concerning the spiritual and ethical interests they possess in common. In a sense this Federation may be considered as the offspring of the International Congress of Religious Liberals, with which it is affiliated, and whose liberalizing and reconciling influences it is intended to conserve and further in the American community. This International Congress had held six sessions in Europe and the United States, with a membership of 2000, representing officially and unofficially 30 nationalities, and over 100 different religious fellowships.

The National Federation holds, from time to time, extended public meetings of religious liberals in centres of American thought and life, at which united testimony is given in behalf of the great universal affirmations of the moral and religious life. It seeks to increase the faith of free and reasoning men in the underlying principles of pure religion held in the spirit of perfect liberty; to foster the sentiments of tolerance and good-will, both religious and racial, in the community; and to promote a fellowship of the spirit based on religious character and conduct, not on creed and rite.

Furthermore, the Federation labors for social reform and good citizenship. It strives for the awakening of the public conscience, the promotion of social justice, and a better performance of social service and obligation. The approved institutions of human society—the family, the school, the church, and the state—in their ideal aspects receive its homage and support. The Federation co-operates with every agency which endeavors to uplift the national character and to invigorate it with ethical and social aims.

The Federation has held seven congresses in Philadelphia, New York City, Rochester, N.Y., Oakland, Cal., and Pittsburgh, Pa., and now meets for the first time in New England.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.

President.

Professor JESSE H. HOLMES, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College, Pa.

Secretary.

CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D., 165 Hunnewell Avenue, Newton, Mass., to whom applications for membership and communications may be addressed.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

ELIZABETH POWELL BOND, Society of Friends, Philadelphia, Pa.
SAMUEL A. ELIOT, D.D., President American Unitarian Association, Boston, Mass.

DANIEL EVANS, D.D., Professor Andover Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass.

GEORGE H. FERRIS, D.D., Pastor First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa.*

MORRIS JASTROW, Ph.D., Professor University of Pennsylvania (Ethical Culture Society).

JENKIN LLOYD JONES, Litt.D., Minister Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, Ill.

LEE S. MCCOLLESTER, D.D., Dean Crane Theological School, Tufts College, Mass., Pres. Universalist General Convention.

HENRY MOTTET, D.D., Rector Church of the Holy Communion, New York City.

LUCIA AMES MEAD, National Secretary Women's Peace Party, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM ROSENAU, D.D., of Baltimore, Md.

JOSEPH SWAIN, LL.D., Friend, President Swarthmore College, Pa.

AMBROSE WHITE VERNON, D.D., Minister Harvard Congregational Church, Brookline, Mass.

Council.

Professor JESSE H. HOLMES, Ph.D., Swarthmore, Pa.

CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D., Newton, Mass.

Dr. O. EDWARD JANNEY, Baltimore, Md.

HENRY BERKOWITZ, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. J. HERMAN RANDALL, New York.

Professor ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, Meadville, Pa.

S. BURNS WESTON, Philadelphia, Pa.

J. CLARENCE LEE, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.

CARL A. VOSS, D.D., Pittsburgh, Pa.

FRANK O. HALL, D.D., New York City.

Rev. HENRY R. ROSE, Newark, N.J.

Rev. MINOT O. SIMONS, Cleveland, Ohio.

J. BARNARD WALTON, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. KAUFMAN KOHLER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dr. LOUIS GROSSMAN, Cincinnati, Ohio.

* Deceased.

FELLOWSHIP BEYOND THE LINES OF SECT AND CREED.

In the Christian world the doctrinals are what distinguish the churches; and from them men call themselves Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, or the Reformed and the Evangelical, and by other names also. It is from what is doctrinal alone that they are so called; which would not be at all, if they would make love to the Lord and charity toward the neighbor the principal things of faith. The doctrinals would then be only varieties of opinion respecting the mysteries of faith, which truly Christian men would leave to every one according to his conscience, and would say in their hearts that one is truly a Christian when he lives as a Christian, or as the Lord teaches. Thus from all the differing churches there would become one church; and all the dissensions which exist from doctrine alone would vanish; yea the hatreds against one another would be dissipated in a moment, and the Lord's kingdom would come upon earth.—*Emanuel Swedenborg*.

Some form of federation between all the chief Christian communities seems to be an essential condition of maintaining a stable National Church in England. Which do we want the Church to be: A small community, content to remain outside the stream of events? A family of dejected souls, defeated by the world, and occupied largely with mutual criticism? Or the very soul of the world, animating the body now, and hoping soon to inspire and control it? To do this, Christians must become once more a brotherhood in reality as well as in profession. They cannot all think alike, for they are differently constituted and educated; but they can unite wholeheartedly upon the moral standard. And they can return to primitive custom by making character the test of membership rather than doctrine. If they can do that they can act together and pray together, in spite of varieties of doctrine and discipline.—*Canon M. G. Glazebrook, D.D., Opening Address Cambridge Conference, 1917.*

Intellectual sympathies are limited, but moral sympathies are universal.—*Ralph Waldo Emerson*.

Faith has already ceased to be itself, if polemically said.—*Ralph Waldo Emerson*.

Respect differences if you would find unity; you shatter differences only to multiply them.—*Rabindranath Tagore, Hindu Theist*.

Our interest should centre in the things that underlie all creeds and overarch all sects.—*J. Fort Newton, Pastor City Temple, London*.

It were better to be of no church than to be bitter for any church.—*William Penn*.

Minds are not converted by force of arms, but by love and generosity.—*Spinoza's Ethics*.

ARTICLES OF FEDERATION.

Adopted 1916.

I. NAME.

The name of this association shall be the National Federation of Religious Liberals.

II. PURPOSE.

1. The purpose of this Federation is to promote the religious life by united testimony for sincerity, freedom and progress in religion, by social service, and a fellowship of the spirit beyond the lines of sect and creed.

2. Participation in this Federation will leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone.

III. MEMBERSHIP.

1. Membership in the Federation may be acquired by individuals, by religious or ethical bodies of a general character, and by similar congregations or societies local in their nature, that approve its purposes, and pay the annual dues hereinafter provided for.

2. Local congregations or societies affiliated with the Federation may appoint delegates, duly accredited, and not to exceed ten in number, who shall be entitled to participate in and vote at all its general and business meetings.

3. Any of the organizations affiliated with this Federation desiring hereafter to withdraw from it, may do so by notifying the Council to this effect. Non-participation for four years in the work of the Federation shall, after due inquiry has been made by the Council as to the wish of the association in question, be considered a sufficient ground for abrogating its relation with the Federation.

IV. GOVERNMENT.

1. The government of the Federation shall be vested in a Council, to consist of nine members, chosen by ballot at its biennial business meeting and, in addition, of two officially appointed representatives of each of the general religious and ethical bodies that shall have become members of the Federation.

2. The members of the Council shall hold office for two years, or until their successors shall be duly elected or appointed by their respective organizations.

3. The Council shall have power to fill vacancies which may occur in its membership.

V. OFFICERS.

1. The officers of the Federation shall be chosen biennially by a majority vote of the Council from among the members of the latter. They shall consist of a president, a secretary, and a treasurer, who, together with four additional members of the Council chosen at the same time and in the same manner, shall constitute an

Executive Committee of seven, to whom shall be committed the conduct of the business of the Federation, subject to the control of the Council. Five of this Committee shall constitute a quorum.

2. Honorary vice-presidents, not to exceed twelve in number, may, on nomination by the Council, be elected at the biennial meeting of the Federation.

VI. DUES.

1. The annual dues of individual members of the Federation shall be one dollar.

2. Each of the bodies represented by two official members in the Council shall pay annual dues of not less than one hundred dollars.

3. Local congregations and societies affiliated with the Federation shall pay annual dues of not less than ten dollars.

VII. MEETINGS.

1. A business meeting of the Federation for the transaction of whatever matters may be brought before it shall be held once in two years at a time and place to be determined by its Council.

2. The Federation shall hold public meetings or congresses at the option of the Executive Committee, and at such times and places as it shall determine, for the discussion and furtherance of the objects for which the society was created.

VIII. AMENDMENTS.

These articles may be amended at any business meeting of the Federation by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided that public notice of the amendment shall have been given with the call of the meeting.

STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER.

The year 1917 has been a prosperous and encouraging one for the National Federation of Religious Liberals. The membership roll has increased; four denominations, the Society of Friends, the Universalists, Unitarians, and Reform Jews, have united officially with the Federation and co-operate in its work.

Two Congresses have been held, extending over several days, in Pittsburgh, Pa. (March), and in Boston, Mass. (November). The printed reports of these meetings, widely distributed, add to their influence on the community. The remarkable displays of interdenominational fellowship which have resulted from the war have given a new *raison d'être* for the Federation, and justify its hopes of future usefulness.

CHARLES W. WENDTE.

FINANCIAL EXHIBIT.

YEAR ENDING JANUARY 18, 1918.

RECEIPTS.

January 18, 1917. Balance forwarded	\$351.56
Memberships and Contributions	443.85
Collections at Congresses	53.82
November 20, 1917. Annual Contribution, Central Conference of American Rabbis	100.00
December 13, 1917. Annual Contribution, General Conference of the Religious Society of Friends.	100.00
January 15, 1918. Annual Contribution, American Unitarian Association	100.00
Sales of Congress Literature	3.85
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EXPENDITURES.

February 1, 1917. Cost of Pittsburgh Congress	\$420.24
March, 1917. Printing and Mailing Report, Pittsburgh Congress	175.81
Stationery and Supplies	16.75
Sundry Printing Bills	15.25
November, 1917. Cost of Boston Congress	302.08
Postage	4.93
Stenography	2.00
Sundries	7.12
To Balance Forwarded	208.90
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	<u>\$1,153.08</u>

Testimony Concerning Religious Fellowship

SUBMITTED BY THE COUNCIL

OF THE

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

IN

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 26, 1917

The main purpose of this Congress is to affirm and promote in the public (and especially the religious) mind its central conviction that true and enduring religious fellowship cannot be brought about by uniformity either of belief or worship. It can only be attained by oneness of moral sympathy and purpose; by mutual respect for differences of opinion and custom combined with that Unity of the Spirit which makes possible inter-religious fellowship and co-operation for human and social service beyond the lines of sect and creed. Not by the amalgamation of existing doctrines and forms, nor by the general acceptance of an "irreducible minimum" of belief; not by an attempt to create a single and universal Church; only by the voluntary federation of the religious forces of the community for promoting, amidst large varieties of thought and church connection, the moral and spiritual ideals they hold in common, can real and effective religious fellowship be established. For while "intellectual sympathies are limited, moral sympathies are universal." All religious men and women alike are animated by the love of truth and purity, the love of God displayed in love to man, by a common hunger and thirst after righteousness, and the simple trusts and hopes of the human heart. These, then, are the desirable tests, the best possible terms of a genuine and widely accepted religious fellowship. In these will be found the true basis of religious union, and the warrant for the federated endeavors of the existing churches and denominations.

Any real unity in the religious world must be spiritual, not theological. Real religious fellowship cannot be made or maintained if based on assent to speculative opinions and dogmatic doctrines. Whatever the label may be, wherever there is enough of the spirit of God to insure substantial liberty, there is a basis for spiritual unity, which may grow into a real brotherhood in fact, and not simply in name.—*Henry W. Wilbur.*

Testimony Concerning Social Ideals

SUBMITTED BY THE COUNCIL

OF THE

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

IN

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 26, 1917

1. Equal rights and justice for all men in all walks of life.
2. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, proper housing.
3. The fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of education and recreation.
4. Abolition of child labor.
5. Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.
6. Abatement and prevention of poverty.
7. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic, and moral waste of the liquor traffic.
8. Conservation of health.
9. Protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases, injuries and mortality.
10. Equal rights and opportunities for women as well as men in the social, economic, political, and religious world.
11. Suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.
12. The principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.
13. Release from employment one day in seven.
14. Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.
15. A living wage as a minimum in every industry and the highest wage that each industry can afford.
16. The most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

Note.—The foregoing statement is identical with that recently put forth by the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, with the exception of its affirmation No. 10; in place of which a new proposition has been here inserted.

The whole statement is not intended as a social creed obligatory on the members of the National Federation, but as a presentation of the social ideals of a majority of its members, binding in part or in its entirety only those who are in accord with it.

PROGRAM OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

Sunday Afternoon, November 25, at 4 o'clock, at the
Arlington Street Church.

Opening Service of Worship. Revs. Paul Revere Frothingham, D.D., Lee S. McCollester, D.D., F. L. Hosmer, D.D., and C. W. Wendte, D.D., conducted the service.

The Congress Sermon was preached by Rufus M. Jones, Litt.D., Haverford College, member of the Society of Friends.

SECOND SESSION.

Sunday Evening, November 25, at 7.45 o'clock, at the
Central Congregational Church.

General Topic: "THE MESSAGE OF RELIGIOUS DEMOCRACY."

A Religious Service conducted by Rev. Wm. F. Sperry, D.D., Rev. Emilius W. Smith, and other clergymen.

1. "Freedom." Address by Professor JESSE H. HOLMES, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College, President of the Federation.
2. "Fellowship." Address by Rev. CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D., of Newton, Secretary of the Federation.
3. "Service." Address by Professor HARRY F. WARD, Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.
4. "Reverence." Address by Rabbi HARRY LEVI, of the congregation Adath Israel.

THIRD SESSION.

Monday Morning, November 26, at 11 o'clock, at
Channing Hall, Unitarian Building.

By invitation of the Ministerial Union, Rev. Charles T. Billings,
President.

General Topic: "PROBLEMS OF A NEW WORLD ORDER."

Rev. Woodman Bradbury conducted a religious service.

1. "World Problems born of the War." Address by Dr. CHARLES W. ELIOT, of Cambridge.
2. "Some Religious Problems created for us by the War." Address by Rev. DANIEL EVANS, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology, Andover Theological Seminary.

FOURTH SESSION.

Monday Afternoon, November 26, at 2.30 o'clock, at the
Church of the New Jerusalem.

General Topic: "SOCIAL REFORMS AS RELIGIOUS DUTIES."

A religious service conducted by Rev. H. Clinton Hay.

1. Introductory Discourse by Rev. FREDERIC W. PERKINS, D.D., of Lynn, on "Fundamentals of Social Reform Work."
2. "Some Labor Problems." Address by HENRY STERLING, Legislative Committee Massachusetts Federation of Labor.
3. "Abatement and Abolition of Poverty." Address by Prof. THOMAS N. CARVER, LL.D., David A. Wells Chair of Political Economy of Harvard University.
4. "Present Status and Outlook of the Temperance Movement at Home and Abroad." Address by Mrs. WILLIAM TILTON, of the Committee of Sixty on National Prohibition.
5. "Status and Prospects of the Colored Race in the United States." Address by Rev. WILLIAM N. DEBERRY, D.D., Springfield, Mass.

CONGRESS SERMON.

RUFUS M. JONES, A.M., LITT.D., HAVERFORD COLLEGE,
HAVERFORD, PA.

"I saw a new heaven and a new earth." "I saw a rainbow round the throne of God." "I saw the new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven, and I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them."—THE BOOK OF REVELATION.

It is the task of the prophet in any age to make God real to men, to make men see that God is a factor in human life and in human history. In this hard and desperate age of Domitian, when this New Testament prophet wrote, there was surely need enough of a new earth. In the earth out on which this prophet looked, force was in the saddle and was trampling out the ideals and aspirations of the spirit. Might did whatever it would. The emperor seemed to this prophet like the very incarnation of the pitiless beast, an embodiment of sheer might and brute force. If a gentle soul appeared trying to make love prevail and faith conquer, he was seized and flung on the rocks of Patmos to die, or he was thrown to the beasts in Ephesus, or he was smeared with pitch and used for a torch in the imperial gardens of Rome. The Jerusalem which had been the great seat of his people's life and hope for centuries was a heap of ruins. The holy temple was a shapeless wreck. There seemed no place in the world which was safe for ideals. And yet this poor weak, banished man stands forth amid the volcanic rocks of his island and speaks with a faith and a vision which has thrilled men ever since: "I see a new certainty of God, a new assurance that his power is over all things. I see a rainbow round the throne of God. I see a new earth, and men overcoming by the power of love. I see the brute conquered by the Lamb. I see a new national life which no longer needs a particular temple in it, for the Lord God Almighty is the living presence in the lives of all the people."

Dear friends, we need a Christianity to-day which speaks with a faith and a vision like that. If we Christians lose a living faith in the living, loving, co-operating God, we shall in any case be defeated, no matter who wins this war, and that defeat will be more disastrous

than the loss of any battle. We are living already too near the border line of that danger. I do not speak of the collapse of Christianity to-day. Christianity has not collapsed, but there has been a grave lack of spiritual leadership in the organized churches of the world, and the luminous, guiding word of the church to-day has been far too feeble. Many of you will remember those now immortal words of Rupert Brooke in that great sonnet of 1914:—

“Now God be thanked, who has matched us with His hour!”

I feel that the religious leaders of the world are unable to use those great words of Rupert Brooke. We cannot say that *we* have been matched with this hour. We have left the task of interpreting God to H. G. Wells, instead of doing it with insight and spiritual authority as ministers of Christ. We have been facing now for many months a threatened food shortage and we have been organizing to meet this possibility of a famine throughout the world. But we are being threatened with a different kind of famine in another quarter. Men have been trying to live without God; they have been endeavoring to get on without faith; and it cannot be done. It is forever impossible. Materialistic conceptions of life always and forever undermine civilization and play havoc with the human soul. We may trace this war now to this cause and now to that, but beneath all these secondary causes lies the primary cause—a materialized age and a faithless life. And until our ideals are changed and our whole way of life altered, the mere ending of the war will not bring real peace or permanent welfare to the race. We must have a new heaven if we want a new earth. We must have a new discovery of God, I mean, and a new way of thinking about God as a reality in the processes of life if we expect a new world. We must have a transformed spiritual outlook if we are to count on a new Jerusalem, that is to say, a new heavenly life with God among men in it.

This New Testament prophet, I suppose, was looking for a great apocalyptic event. His book is the expression of the culmination of an age-long hope—that God would break through and interfere and stop the pitiless forces in the world about him. These great champions of the faith of Israel, these great prophets of the truth, believed in their souls that God had chosen this race to be his special people. They held the high faith that

his covenant was made with them, that he would deliver them and bring them through into triumph. And age after age they saw themselves face to face with the militant civilizations of the ancient world. There came moving on their national life these great racial forces, seeming as irresistible as a cataclysm of nature.—Assyria, ruthless with an ancient ruthlessness that spared nothing in its onward march. Why did not God stop Assyria, was the wonder in the hearts of these people. Then came Persia, with its might; then came Alexander and the Greek kings, Antiochus Epiphanes seizing hold of the free life of Jerusalem and almost crushing the last spark of life and light out of this nation. Why did not God interfere? Some day he would, was their hope. And, alas! here is the incarnation of the beast, this impossible rule of the Caesar that gives no scope for the soul, no chance for the great aspirations of the prophet to find a place in this kind of a world. Surely God must now intervene and stop the eagles of Caesar forever. A stone cut out of a mountain without hands will smite these races, and a new world will certainly come with new heavens and an altered universe.

Some such hope as that lasts on to-day, and one of the great perplexities I hear constantly expressed is, Why does not God stop this war? How can it be possible, after all these centuries of spiritual travail, that God can let a war come in our world? But over against this apocalyptic view there is a much profounder conception and experience of God everywhere in evidence in the Bible and in human life—God patiently working with us, slowly revealing his character age after age, defeated in our moral failures, victorious and triumphant in our moral and spiritual advances and triumphs; a God who is forever working all things up to better by his persistent and unwearied love. The Bible is one long story of these divine defeats and divine successes, new heavens and new earths coming, but coming in unexpected ways and by unexpected methods.

Turn back to the prophets, the great prophets, and you hear every one of them telling about the divine defeats and every one of them telling about divine triumphs. Jeremiah, in words that impress every one that reads them says, speaking for God, "I have sent unto you my servants the prophets, rising up early in the morning and sending them, saying, Oh, do not do this abominable thing—though ye would not harken or

incline your ear unto me"; and God was defeated. But this same prophet, usually thought of as a great pessimist, has one of the most optimistic outlooks of any man that ever lived. He goes down to watch the potter making his clay pot on his wheel, and when as the pot begins to take its shape on the spinning wheel and the clay pot is marred in the hands of the potter, instead of scrapping the material and throwing it off into the refuse heap, suddenly the prophet sees the potter take the clay that had failed to make the vessel, and now once more the potter with the same clay shapes the successful vessel. And from this simple, trivial household incident the prophet rises to his great vision—his faith in the God that is making the world and his faith in the clay out of which this human world is being shaped.

Few things are more startling than the way the New Testament speaks of the divine defeats. Jesus came into his own country and among his own kin and into his own house, and there he could not do many mighty things and he was amazed at their unbelief. Jesus *could* not do many mighty works. In the garden, in the dark, conscious that there were twelve legions of angels there, he could not call one angel to save him from the cross. He *could* not. Hanging on the cross, in the agony such as nobody ever knows who is not nailed to the tree, he hears the multitude about the cross say, "He saved others; himself he could not save." He *could* not save. It is one more leaf out of the book of the everlasting tragedies of the divine defeats. In the realm of matter God seems absolute. Here he is infinite every way. Nothing ever defeats the divine purpose in the creation of worlds. He speaks, and it is done. God said, "Let there be light," and there was light. The sons of God saw the ever marching triumphant movement of creation, and they shouted with joy,

"For the world was built in order, and the atoms march in tune;
Rhyme the pipe and Time the warder,—the sun obeys them,
and the moon."

It is all easy there; there are no defeats. God is never baffled, and we rightly think of him as infinite and absolute in the realm of creation in the external world. But in the moral world of which we are an organic part it is all different. Here are the tragedies, here are the defeats, because in some mysterious way we men can defeat God and block his purposes. Do you remember that striking

poem, one of the most striking of the nineteenth century, which Tennyson wrote when his first child was born, in which he says to this little child:—

“Live thou! and of the grain and husk, the grape
And ivy-berry, choose; and still depart
From death to death thro’ life and life, and find
Nearer and ever nearer Him, who wrought
Not Matter, nor the finite-infinite,
But this main-miracle, that thou art thou,
With power on thine own act and on the world.”

And in some mysterious way this is true. We have our area of freedom, we have our own purposes, we have our own ideals, we go our own way, and even God himself respects us in our area of freedom. He will not use force to achieve any triumph of his. God’s triumphs are forever moral and spiritual triumphs. He cannot interrupt and stop war in this world, any more than Christ can call angels to save himself from historical processes. There is no moral way, there is no spiritual way to stop processes, and interrupt them when they are unpleasant. If men race in rivalry in the building of warships and in the equipment of armies God cannot interrupt the historical processes and save us from the uncomfortable consequences any more than God can interrupt the natural course of events and save the child from a burn when the hand is put in the fire. This is a world in which we can calculate consequences, and the only way we can have an intelligent world, a world with which science or history can deal, is to have the processes go on so that we can learn moral and spiritual lessons from moral and spiritual situations. And if the triumph is to come and the new earth is to be made and the new humanity is to be reached it will be through our co-operation with God and God’s co-operation with us. God and man can never more be sundered; God’s triumphs can never be obtained without us, and our triumphs can never be reached without God.

Once more I refer to a great passage in Tennyson. In one of the great hours in his life, in darkness and tragedy, he cries out:—

“... falling with my weight of cares
Upon the great world’s altar-stairs
That slope thro’ darkness up to God,
“I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope.”

Through all Christian history we have talked about the stairs that climb up to God, the various kinds of ladders by which the soul mounts to God. The wonderful thing about Tennyson's stairway is that it is a great altar stairway; one climbs it by sacrifice and suffering:—

“ . . . falling with my weight of cares
Upon the great world's altar-stairs
That slope thro' darkness up to God,
“I stretch lame hands of faith . . .”

And it is by the tragedy, by the experience, the agony of soul, and the very crucifixion of all that is selfish and mean in us that we climb up and find our way to the Divine.

But the more amazing thing is that this great revelation which Christ has brought us is the revelation that God himself is forever and eternally travailing in tragedy and suffering and sacrifice with us and that that which is highest in us is the most real and the most genuine thing in him, and that wherever the race is suffering in travail and the tragedy, there is God revealed. If that is so, the Christ who has brought us our one great luminous revelation of our God cannot miss the cross and cannot bring us to God or God to us without suffering and sacrifice.

Many of you have been, as I have been, thrilled by the sight of Mount Shasta in California. Many of you. I have no doubt, have taken the ride up that valley in that extraordinary sunlight and you have seen that solitary mountain-peak rising up out of the earth, the earth itself rising to the sky, and you have gone round and got all the various views you could of that splendor and that revelation of the highest beauty our earth anywhere, perhaps, has produced, and you have felt the glory and the grandeur of that revelation of beauty. Something like this mingling of the glory of earth and sky Jesus Christ has revealed in the higher realm of the spiritual life. In him we see the glory of God and man in a personal life. He shines across all history and stands out as the supreme exhibition of what has been done and can be done to reveal the possibilities of human life, and at the same time he stands out as the luminous revelation and unveiling of the eternal nature of God. And in him we see suffering, agony, tragedy, but we see also the divine triumphs. We discover that the race

is being made, the kingdom of God is being realized, through the continuous revelation of the love that never lets go and that travails with us, and lifts us by inspiration into our higher life—until some day love will everywhere prevail, men will live, harmonized and organized by the love rooted in God and realized in man.

“Man as yet is being made, and ere the crowning Age of ages,
Shall not æon after æon pass and touch him into shape?
All about him shadow still, but, while the races flower and fade,
Prophet-eyes may catch a glory slowly gaining on the shade,
Till the peoples all are one, and all their voices blend in choric
Hallelujah to the Maker: ‘It is finished. Man is made.’”

O God, eternal lover of our souls, Father of all races and of all peoples, of all branches of Thy church in all lands, bind us together in an ever stronger bond of unfailing love, and help us to find in Thee the sources of life and our thoughts and our love. And wilt Thou enable us who are here this afternoon to reach out a little farther, take hold of more of the Eternal energy of ever prevailing love and translate it into the actual deed and life of to-day. And may we have some part in bringing a greater peace, a greater civilization, and a greater spiritual life at home and throughout the world. We ask in the great name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

WORLD-PROBLEMS.

A great work awaits us when the war is over, and it should be prepared for even now: a new order of society, a new international ethic, a new interpretation of religion, a reconstructed church, and a more inclusive religious fellowship.

To make the world safe for Democracy; to keep Democracy safe for the world; to cherish and display the sentiment of International Friendship, even amidst the strife and terror of war; to promote a righteous and enduring peace,—this is the world-mission of America.—C. W. W.

THE MESSAGE OF RELIGIOUS DEMOCRACY.

I. FREEDOM.

PROF. JESSE H. HOLMES, PH.D., SWARTHMORE COLLEGE,
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What is it to be free? It is a thing difficult to define; indeed, if it means a choice of conduct uninfluenced by conditions, it is not and cannot be more than a mere abstraction, and if it were possible to be thus uninfluenced it would be the very worst form of slavery—the slavery of irrational caprice. The only explicable or possible freedom is that involved in a choice of masters; and here man has exercised a wide catholicity of selection. He has elected every conceivable hobby, every thinkable folly—his passions, his affections, his theories, his friends and enemies, his possessions, the possessions of others—all these and many more have been in the saddle to ride him.

THE MASTER-GOD.

Among the masters most commonly chosen, with intent to avoid other slaveries, is a master-God; and often the man so choosing has demanded that all others shall accept the same master, denying to them the freedom of choice he has himself exercised. But the mastery of God has taken on very different forms from age to age. I wish here to refer to a few of the servitudes which seem to me evil, and to point out the one service that seems to me good.

First there is the omnipotent and omniscient God of Augustinian and Calvinistic theology. His rule reduces man and his world to the dimensions of a mechanical toy. There is neither good nor evil in it, since all is inevitable. Man is but one bit of ingenious mechanism among the others. Such a world has no apparent meaning unless it is to solace the *ennui* of a bored deity who strives to vary his endless and monotonous eternity. When the Creator tires of his toy he may without blame sweep the débris into a universal fireplace, keeping, if he so desires, a few samples to set on his cosmic mantelpiece. Such a master-

God has been widely accepted in the world, and has offered an easy release from all responsibility. The acceptance of his service has produced in practice a type of mankind stern, harsh, and unlovely, but efficient in getting what he wants, and in crushing all conflicting wants. Calvinism and Mohammedanism are the classic examples of freedom by denial of all possible choice. It has little to show of the beauty and graciousness of life, and has sternly opposed the growth of arts and sciences. It tends to disappear in democracies, and among kindly peoples: it is at its best among wars and persecutions.

LAW AND NATURE.

This repulsive deity finds a curious counterpart in the "inevitable natural law" of his supposed enemy, the scientist. Here again the players must speak their lines and play their parts as they are writ. The principal apparent difference lies in the fact that here the world-drama, instead of being staged before high heaven with at least the author as spectator, is presented with no audience at all, and ends in a mere blank: "an empty theatre, the music silent and the actors gone, with none to muse upon the scenes that once have been." On the whole, is not evolutionism in this extreme form, with its "inevitable laws" and its "sufficient causes," its "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest," more offensive than even Calvinism with its capricious and inexplicable deity, who has made his mechanical toy to cry out his praises? We ourselves are capricious at times, and like to flatter ourselves in roundabout ways: wherefore we can at least partly appreciate a god who is like unto us. But this blind native force, this soulless and meaningless will-to-be.

"Into this Universe, and Why not knowing,
Nor Whence, like Water willy-nilly flowing,
And out of it, as Wind along the Waste
I know not Whither, willy-nilly blowing."

—endless, meaningless, purposeless: surely no slavery is worse than this. Yet the Law and Nature slave-driver is a present day obsession. Its disciples have, moreover, much of the bigotry and intolerance which marked its earlier prototypes. Yet its world of perfect mechanism, in which each of us is a cog in the cosmic wheel, is much too simple to be in accord with actual experience. It partakes of most of the weaknesses and

inaccuracies of its parent, mathematics, which is of all the sciences most remote from the world of reality. All generalizations including the "natural laws" are made by noting likenesses and ignoring differences. The larger the generalization, the more the differences ignored. In mathematics everything is ignored except the bare unit, having no qualities at all except that of being equal to and interchangeable with all other like units. Of course such a unit has no existence in fact, and the results from its assumption can never be more than approximations. To say this is not for a moment to deny the practical value and convenience of this artificially created world of number, point, line, and surface; but it is absolutely to condemn the pretence that this artificial mechanical world can be substituted for the real world of infinite variety, incalculable in its inexplicable caprices, awful in its constant presentation of undictated choice. The so-called exact sciences are largely under the sway of the imagined and fanciful world of fixed ratios and relations. Many really believe in this simple and unreal machine-land; seeing about them a wonderful organism whose eternal newness is its most striking feature, they assert like "the preacher" that there is only the everlasting round, and that there is nothing new under the sun. They listen to the music of the spheres and insist that it is only a music-box grinding its predestined tune, and slowly but surely running down.

This world of formulas, whether of religion or of science, has given man a deal of trouble in his system making. For its lines made of points can have no length, and its time made of instants can have no duration. Motion, as proved long, long ago by Parmenides, is impossible, and the whole cosmos is static. In practice few have tried to live such a system, and they with but indifferent success. For life is ever so much greater than the formulas, and the world of life is dynamic with motion and distance, in time and in space. We need not allow ourselves to be hypnotized by the scientist with his world of predestination and election. His world, and ours, is much looser than he is willing to admit. His results are by no means so exact and so unyielding as he supposes. There is much play in the bearings of the cosmic processes; and however much we may know, there is yet much more of marvel and surprise. We need not, and are not ready to, yield to the mastery of this impersonal Calvinistic monster of causation. It is only those who

carelessly about unproved and unprovable assumptions, who are obliged to bow themselves to the formulated conclusions which inevitably follow.

MAN-MASTER AND CROWD-MASTER.

Then there are men who would be our masters, usurping the place of the gods, and demanding that others shall think, speak, and act according to their pleasures. Here again the situation is artificially simplified. "I am right—or orthodox—or perhaps merely popular. You differ from me, therefore you are wrong, and I hate you and would injure or kill you"—or perhaps, more gently, a modified conclusion: "Therefore you are wrong and must now speak out your truth, which is error, lest you mislead men. You who are not infallible as we I." These would-be masters are insistent and persistent. Even in fighting the battle for freedom from the domination of "such a thing as I myself" even often themselves rush for the crown they have cast down from the heads of others. Luther, setting freedom in days and ways of danger, who will not be "a prisoner to any authority, be it that of emperor, university or pope," may still "unshakably declare everything which I imagine as truth whether it be sanctioned by Catholic or heretic," will nevertheless be "emperor and pope" over other men, and remove the profaned heads of other free men when he is truly named "heretic." So also the Pilgrim fathers, steering boldly "through the dangerous water sea," seeking to free America freedom to worship God, were by no means ready to have "protested what there they found," and grant like freedom-masters with a like quest. Or today our own time, our trustees of a great Pennsylvania university are seen to hush in old, tried, and approved master because he offends wealthy and powerful men by his teaching. And the despotic authorities of an equally famous New York university dismiss an old and honored instructor, known and admired throughout the world of education, because he has exercised the right and duty of a free American in freely giving his best thought to the people of his time and country. And may go further in petty tyranny, cancelling his due pension for his old age, because his ideals do not accord with theirs. The doctrine is "You differ from us as to the war—therefore you shall no longer teach chemistry, and are deprived of your old-age pension." But these

men are not really gods, who cannot err. Even they might be wrong.

Perhaps these last instances illustrate rather the crowd-master than the man-master. It is often hard to distinguish the two. For there are always men who wish to seem to be masters, and who therefore force their way to the front of the crowd and imagine themselves leaders because the crowd goes their way. This is the type who will never advocate an unpopular cause for fear of "losing his influence," and so conceals from himself the fact that he has no influence. He it is who, like Mr. Pickwick, will "shout with the largest" when there are two crowds. Those who pose as masters of the crowd are in fact mastered by it; as indeed we are all in danger of being mastered in every crisis. Yet there is surely no more certain teaching from human history than this: that the crowd and those who shout with it can never be trusted to be right at any given time. I would not venture to speak this platitude if the times did not give it new point and meaning. It was the crowd voiced by high priest and king that drove Amos from Bethel. It was the crowd voiced by king and courtier that strove to silence Jeremiah. It was the crowd expressing itself through chief priests and scribes that nailed Jesus to the Cross. In every age men of the crowd have slain the prophet. I need not remind a Boston audience of the crowd in silk hats which dragged Garrison through your streets—thus winning all the immortality they are likely to get by association with his name—nor of the aristocrats who ostracized Wendell Phillips because he voiced the cry of those in bondage. Those of our generation can remember the persecution of temperance reformers and woman suffragists. Our children will read of the persecution of those who fight the monopolist, and profiteer, and your morning paper will tell you daily of the maltreatment of those who dare to speak a word tending toward peace in a hysterical, war-mad world.

THE BASIS OF DEMOCRACY.

But shall we not yield our freedom to the will of our country expressed in law? Surely, in so far as we must act in common. The will of most must and should dominate the will of fewer. But the very basis of democracy is a system in which the free thought of its people, expressed in free speech, may change minorities into majorities by the free process of persuasion and

convincement. My duty, which I freely admit, to obey or take the legal consequences, depends wholly on my free opportunity to show the crowd that I am right, and so turn them to my course of action. For this reason I will support my country in a time when she legalizes slavery, if I am free to show publicly the evil of slavery. I will join in the guilt of my people in whose hands is the tainted money of the licensed saloon, while I may freely urge my fellow-citizens to banish the licensed saloon. And I will carry with my people the blood-guiltiness of war, if I am not restricted in preaching the gospel of the Prince of Peace. It is for the freedom which our country gives us that we owe her loyalty. We owe none to despotisms, under whatever name, which claim "divine" rights over men, which take on the claims of gods to dictate men's thoughts and speech. Even over men's actions governments have no rights beyond the guarantee that no man's freedom shall limit the equal freedom of his fellows.

And these freedoms our country has proclaimed to the round world, while other and far peoples one after one have taken up the sound and passed it on as best they might. Thus has America been a blessing to mankind and will continue so to be so long as she is true to her ideals. That America we love. She blunders on her royal road toward the great goal of human freedom. She sends out the most splendid challenge of the ages to the despotisms of the few over the many, or of the many over the few. It is glorious that she spends her treasure like water to sustain her ideal. It is magnificent that she sends her willing men, a mighty stream, that far-away people may be free of petty gods, who set up petty kings to enforce their petty will. This is the *real* America. But this real America is belied and belittled by those petty Americans, be they ex-Presidents who, thinking they are gods who cannot err, would silence all voices which do not chord with their own, or be they sneaking criminals who, hating the good citizen that has often defied them, seize him in the dark and lash him from behind the coward's mask, or be they noisy journalists, bigoted laymen, or hysterical preachers who applaud such un-American deeds.

THE SERVITUDE WHICH IS FREEDOM.

The only possible freedom is the choice of masters. We reject in turn the tyrant god, the tyrant law, the tyrant

man, the tyrant nation. There remains the only servitude which is indeed freedom—the service of that veiled figure dimly seen, speaking with a still small voice imperfectly heard, which we call our ideal. Whether for wisdom or for folly we must listen with our best powers, and obey unflinchingly, with courage and consecration. This and this alone is the very voice of God for each one of us; and no unpopularity, no opposing authorities, can excuse us from interpreting our vision as best we may to our times.

Moreover, such freedom, for better or worse, is safest for the state as well as essential to the soul-health of the individual. Folly is like other explosives, dangerous when confined and harmless when out in the open. And no man knoweth what particular seeming folly may, by the alchemy of human strivings, turn to the very elixir of life for men. "If the counsel be of man it will be overthrown; but if it be of God ye will not be able to overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God." We are travelling a mysterious way to a far goal. There are many by-ways on this side and on that, and many sign-posts telling varying tales. Many of the ways travelled in the past are plainly evil ways, and should be abandoned. We need courage to try new ways—dangerous new ways—into undiscovered countries. The ways of self-seeking, the ways by which men pursue wealth and power, the ways of war and conflict, are condemned alike by history and by the voice of the ideal: they are certainly wrong. The true path must needs be uncertain, and we must take the risks of uncertainty. Not even the newspaper writer just out of college, or the ward politician just elected to office, may safely be trusted infallibly to point the way. Neither these nor yet any other, however highly placed, however honored and trusted, however experienced and wise, may do more for each and every man than to offer his experience, his plan, or his judgment, to be judged by each true man for himself. To yield the habit of making choice on the basis of one's highest ideals, to shrink from the choice because it is not a popular one, to change the choice at the dictation of the mob, is to sign the death warrant of manhood for the individual, of democracy for the state, and of that vision, without which the people perish, for humanity.

II. FELLOWSHIP IN A RELIGIOUS DEMOCRACY.

CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D., SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL
FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.

If the first word in the message of Religious Democracy is freedom, its second and complementary sentiment is certainly fellowship.

As the principles and institutions of democracy take increasing possession of men's minds they lose their innate selfishness and indifference to others' needs and welfare and become more and more conscious of their common-ship with God and consequent brotherly relations with each other. Fellowship, the loving recognition of their interdependence and mutual obligation, overcomes their purely individual and separate interests. It brings them into disinterested, sympathetic, and helpful union for mutual aid and the larger service of the community to which as moral and social beings they belong even more than to themselves.

Nothing is more striking in the history of modern religious liberalism than the shifting of its emphasis from the intense individualism and self-culture of a former generation of religious radicals to its present insistence on the superior rights of the social conscience, its sympathy with the less-favored elements of the social body, and ardent for service to them.

Leaving this general aspect of my theme, I will confine myself to that manifestation of fellowship which has to do with the closer union of the religious forces of the land, and especially its churches, for mutual benefit and the promotion of their common aims.

CATHOLIC ATTEMPTS AT UNITY.

To unite all the followers of Jesus into one universal church has been, indeed, the ideal aim of the Christian world in all ages. The Roman Catholic Church places this idea at the forefront of its pretensions, as is indicated by the term "*Catholic*," which means the one, universal, all-embracing church. Throughout the Christian ages the Church of Rome has persistently advanced this claim to unity and universality, notwithstanding the facts of history abundantly disprove it. There is not now and never was a time when the Roman Catholic doctrine and ecclesiastical rule were accepted by all Christians everywhere, or assented to unqualifiedly by

all her adherents. An examination into the history of the Church of Rome discloses that this vaunted unity of Christendom never really existed in any age: that it was never more than a splendid dream, a sublime Utopia, which never was realized, and which never will be realized on any of the lines which have thus far been laid down for it.

Even in the early days of the Christian Church there was the greatest difference of opinion and practice among the followers of the Master, and numerous parties and sects arose, culminating at length in the fourth century in the great controversy between the Arians and the Athanasians, or orthodox believers, which was waged with such bitterness, with such intolerance, strife, and cruelty, that whereas in the first century A.D. an eye-witness declared in admiration, "See how these Christians love one another!"—in the fourth century another witness could say with equal truthfulness, "There are no wild beasts so ferocious as Christians who differ concerning their faith." So it remained for hundreds of years. In the eleventh century these disagreements led to the permanent estrangement and division of Christendom into the Greek and Roman Churches. Each party hurled its anathemas at the other in separating, each declared itself to be the true and only representative of Christ on earth. Henceforth there were in reality *two* Catholic Churches, one enthroned at Rome, the other at Constantinople.

The Roman wing of the original church was now, as it seemed, left free to carry out its plans for church unity. But not for long. The war of creeds, the clash of rival parties, went on as before. At one time, and for seventy years, the papacy itself was divided. There were rival popes at Rome and at Avignon, each declaring the other to be schismatic and an emissary of Satan.

Meanwhile, the monastic orders and the theologians were engaged in just as violent controversies with each other as any sects of our own day. Not only in the ponderous treatises of the theologians, but by the sword, the fagot, the rack, and edict of excommunication did these disputants seek to controvert one another. Countless sects of heretics and reformers arose to disturb the church—the Lollards and Wickliffites in England; the Vaudois, Waldenses, and Poor Men of Lyons in France; the followers of Huss in Bohemia and Savonarola in Italy.

The intense religious agitation of those ages culminated at last in the Protestant Reformation under Martin Luther, Calvin, and others, whose four hundredth anniversary we have just been celebrating. By this Reformation the Roman Church again lost a large part of her following and forfeited permanently the spiritual control of the most powerful, enlightened, and dominant nations of the modern world.

Nor is this division and disintegration of the Church of Rome at an end. The influence of modern civilization, through its secular and democratic governments, and its increasing enlightenment and liberality, is steadily at work disintegrating and sapping her control over the remaining Catholic nations of the world. Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Mexico, and the South American republics have been, for a hundred years and more, great battlefields on which the papacy wages a continual conflict with her own spiritual subjects, and constantly loses ground. The temporal power is lost and gone forever. The control of public education is nearly gone. Day by day the control of Rome over the minds and hearts of these nations is lessening: except possibly here in the United States, where the great immigration of Catholic foreigners gives it a temporary increase. The people of all ranks and classes are becoming educated and liberalized, sceptical of the divine right of the Church, increasingly unmindful of her appeals, and indifferent to her authority; especially since the world-war has revealed her impotence in either preventing or ending it. Nowhere in the modern world is unbelief so widespread and profound as among Catholic nations. As the Old Catholic and Modernist movements of our time disclose to us, the way is preparing for a great transformation of the Roman Church and doctrine, or else another great separation from it of many of her most intelligent members.

This brief review of Catholic history shows us that the claim of the Church of Rome to be the one, only, universal Church of Christ is unfounded in fact or reason. There has always been the greatest diversity of opinion and practice among Catholic Christians, and this diversity increases rather than lessens with the growth of human culture.

It was therefore a very proper saying of Æneas Sylvius (afterward Pope Pius II.), who tells us, "The Catholic Church is called the Universal Church, not because all

men have it, but because all men ought to have it"—a wise distinction.

ENDEAVORS AFTER PROTESTANT UNITY.

Has Protestantism ever made actual this ideal of Christian unity? Most assuredly not. It has claimed to believe in it, has laid down the way of its attainment, and has sought earnestly at times to realize it on earth. But it has always failed to make it real.

The history of Protestantism has been attended with intensified differences, and sadly disfigured with divisions and strifes, intolerance, hatred, and persecution. The followers of Luther and Calvin everywhere denounced and ill-treated each other. The Established Church of England bitterly prosecuted the dissenting and Puritanical sects, and the latter retorted and retaliated in kind. John Knox in Scotland, while a fugitive fleeing from the wrath of the Established Church, wrote fiery pamphlets denouncing his fellow-Protestants and clamoring for the expulsion of the Roman Catholics from Great Britain.

Since their day the increase of true religion and the growth of enlightened opinion and of a secular state have greatly modified such intolerant displays. Yet the Protestant world is still divided into innumerable sects and parties—some two hundred of them in the United States—all more or less in conflict with each other, and often displaying an illiberal and hateful spirit. So that one must admit the ideal Christian unity has not been realized in the Protestant world, and is not likely to be realized on any of the lines which hitherto have been followed by its votaries.

THE ERROR OF UNIFORMITY.

We find, then, that the history of the Christian Church teaches the failure of all these attempts to bring about the religious unity of Christendom. The reasons for this failure are apparent. It has resulted from the employment of erroneous methods of seeking the desired unity.

The Christian Church has sought for uniformity instead of unity,—uniformity of worship and administration, and uniformity of intellectual beliefs and doctrines instead of the free fellowship of the spirit. It has brought its authority and power to bear on men to compel them all to think alike and worship alike. But, as Dr. Fort New-

ton has well said, "If you run a steam-roller over the churches, you can produce uniformity, but it will be the uniformity of the graveyard."

The Roman Catholic Church has laid the principal emphasis of its endeavors on uniformity of church organization and forms of worship. In so doing it has left out of account the fact that men are very different in their religious antecedents, tastes, yearnings, and needs. Some races, and some individuals in all races, demand great fulness of liturgy and a large employment of symbolism and art to express their adoration and bring their souls into closer relations with the objects of their worship. The Roman Catholic Church provides these in abundance.

But other Christians, especially in the Protestant world, desire the greatest simplicity in their worship. They prefer to ponder inwardly the disclosures of the Holy Spirit, and do not need to have their religion pictured to them by altar-service, or ceremony, or ritual pomp. The latter would not express but rather hinder and impede their communion with the spiritual object they adore. Hence the Roman service does not appeal to such. They are repelled by it, rather, and often in their recoil they fall into extremes of opinion and practice.

The Puritan founders of New England were suspicious of all forms and ceremonies. We learn that in their churches, when the Lord's Supper had been administered, the communion table, in some instances, was dragged down the aisle to provide a seat for the lowliest of the congregation; this to emphasize the fact that it was but a bit of wood, and must not be deemed to have any special sanctity. In a similar spirit they cut the cross of St. George out of the British flag, on Salem Common, as a protest against papist symbolism.

An unprejudiced study of religious history will show that it is impossible to bring about universal religious or church unity on the basis of a common liturgy or church administration. Diversities of religious needs, likings, and principles have to be taken into account. Therefore, there never can be a uniform worship or church government—in a religious democracy, at all events. There may be religious unity, but it will have to be unity in diversity.

The Protestant world has equally failed to bring about Christian unity, because it also has had the emphasis of its endeavors on uniformity, more particularly uniformity

of doctrine. It has tried to make men think alike on religious subjects, hoping by this common intellectual agreement to arrive at oneness of faith and conduct. This also is a profound mistake. It is a theory of religious unity equally untrue to the spiritual nature of man, to the character of truth, to the method of revelation and the teachings of history. The soul of man is a many-stringed instrument. Men's minds and needs are as different from each other as their faces. Dogmas may chain together Christians, they cannot spiritually unite them. The statement of truth which satisfies one mind may repel another. No one creed can adequately provide for the individuality and variety of the human intellect, and the great diversity in the spiritual antecedents, capacities, desires, and needs of mankind. The mind of man in its normal state is an ever-growing, ever-developing organism. Hence the statement of truth which fairly represents the belief of one generation may no longer justly express that of another, or meet its altered needs. Restlessness, doubt, disaffection, unbelief, dissension, are the inevitable consequences of all such attempts to cramp and fetter the minds of men with unchangeable dogmas and creeds, and to base religious fellowship on uniformity of belief.

Moreover, the nature of truth itself and the method of its revelation forbid it. Truth is not immobile and final, not a sacred deposit to be accepted *en bloc* and forever. Truth is dynamic, ever in flux, ever-changing, ever-developing, ever in process, as the wisdom and purpose of God are revealed and man realizes that

“through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the circle of the suns.”

All the dogmas with which theologians in times past have sought to solve the mysteries of life and death, of good and evil, of love and law, of time and eternity, have their value and use as contemporary statements of truth. But the subjects they deal with are too vast, too complex, too far above our limited knowledge and comprehension to permit us to claim any infallibility for our opinions, or lay them down as a sufficient and enduring basis for Christian fellowship.

Finally, the very principle on which the Protestant movement is founded, the right and duty of private judgment in matters of faith, is opposed to such a method of securing religious unity. From the Protestant point

of view the existing division of Christendom into different denominations, the great variety of modes of worship and church administration, are not only permissible, but a real help to the intellectual and religious life, so long as they are not carried to an absurd extreme, and do not violate the essential spirit of Christianity, the spirit of brotherly love and charity.* As James Freeman Clarke well said, "The strength of Protestantism lies in its sects; its weakness lies in its sectarianism"; and in similar vein Dr. Channing tells us: "The dissensions of Protestantism go far to constitute its strength. By them the spirit of liberty, the only spirit Rome cannot conquer, is kept alive." It is not the existence, it is the abuse of denominationalism which is to be deplored and guarded against.

THE UNITY OF THE SPIRIT.

And this brings me to my final conclusion. Religious unity, an all-embracing religious fellowship, is not to be arrived at by uniformity either of belief or worship. It can only be attained by the way of the spirit, by oneness of moral sympathy and purpose, by mutual respect for differences of opinion combined with that "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace" by which we are all baptized into one body. It is this which makes interdenominational fellowship and co-operation possible beyond the lines of sect and creed. Not by the amalgamation of existing doctrines and forms; not by the general acceptance of an "irreducible minimum" of belief; not by an attempt to wipe out the existing denominations altogether, and create a single and universal church; only by the voluntary *federation* of the religious forces of the community for promoting, amidst large varieties of belief and church connection, the moral and spiritual ideals they hold in common, can real and effective fellowship be established. For while "intellectual sympathies are limited, moral sympathies are universal." All religious men and women alike are animated by the desire for truth and purity, by a common hunger and thirst after righteousness, and the simple trusts and hopes of the human heart. All religious men respond to the maxim which both the Old and the New Testament inculcate: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and mind and strength, and thy neighbor as

* Washington Conference. "What power is there in our high Christian civilization, with its abundance of knowledge, science, and art, of liberating, elevating, and refining the lowest, the most degraded, and the most degraded of the human race?"

thysself." All alike feel the beauty and appeal of that brotherly service which the story of the Good Samaritan illustrates. These, then, are the only desirable tests, the only acceptable terms of a genuine and widely extended fellowship. In these will be found the true basis of religious union, and the warrant for the federated endeavors of the existing churches and denominations, orthodox and liberal, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant.

The growth of this conviction is seen in the increasing good-will and co-operation of the denominations of Christendom with each other, and their federation in the uplift of the social order and the service of humanity at home and abroad. The world-war with its appalling needs, its international friendships, its increasing emancipation from the thraldoms of the past,—political, economic, and ecclesiastical,—the vast and huge displacement in men's opinions and loyalties which it is bringing to pass, is the prophecy of a new ethical consciousness, a mutuality of sentiment and purpose, which makes fellowship the great word in the religious life of mankind. To cherish the sentiment of universal brotherhood and uphold the ideals of international peace and good-will, even in times of war; to maintain as fundamental in a democracy the sacredness of the individual conscience and the free expression of personal opinion; to do all in our power to promote the ministry of reconciliation among men; to sympathize with and serve all our fellow-creatures alike; to know no hatreds, and seek no revenges,—this is the spirit of fellowship held in the bond of peace.

And this fellowship will not be confined within strictly Christian lines, but will take into its loving thought the needs, hopes, and trusts of all mankind. It will teach us to understand and appreciate better the teachings and saints of the other-world religions,—particularly Judaism, from which Christianity sprang,—and to do honor to their endeavors to explain the mystery of the universe and realize the perfect life. It will not strive to destroy but to fulfil the revelation that has been given to them, and to build on the common foundations of man's religious nature and needs

"the universal church,
Lofty as is the love of God
And ample as the wants of man."

It was to promote this conception of a religious fellowship based on spiritual sympathy, a common moral pur-

pose, and the service of the common weal that this National Federation of Religious Liberals was founded eight years ago. It has held well-attended and successful meetings in Philadelphia, New York City, Pittsburgh, and other centres, and now makes its first appeal to a New England community. The way has been well prepared for its irenic endeavors by the prophets and teachers of religious breadth and sympathy who for a century past have borne noble witness in New England to a religion of the spirit and the life—Ralph Waldo Emerson, Dr. Channing, Dr. Hosea Ballou, Dr. Bushnell, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Phillips Brooks among them, as well as by organizations like the liberal denominations, the Free Religious Association of America, and the Massachusetts Federation of Churches.

Encouraging signs in the religious life of our Commonwealth, too numerous to mention here, testify that this ethical federation of the religious forces of our time is making rapid headway. Ministers and churches alike are ready for this larger and more inclusive fellowship which embraces the whole world in its loving thought and prayer. Consider, for example, what it means to our religious life as a people that in the recent nation-wide drive for raising a vast sum of money to enable the Young Men's Christian Associations to carry out their beneficent purposes for the American soldiers and sailors, orthodox and liberal, Christian and Jew and unbeliever, have united with hearty good-will and generosity.

The whole spirit of our time is enlisted in behalf of this ethical interpretation of fellowship. As the poet Edwin Markham sings:—

“The crest and crowning of all good,
Life's final star is Brotherhood;
For it will bring again to Earth
Her long-lost Poesy and Mirth;
Will send new light on every face,
A kingly power upon the race.
And till it comes we men are slaves,
And travel downward to the dust of graves.

“Come, clear the way, then, clear the way:
Blind creeds and kings have had their day.
Break the dead branches from the path:
Our hope is in the aftermath—
Our hope is in heroic men,
Star-led to build the world again.
To this Event the ages ran:
Make way for Brotherhood—make way for Man.”

III. THE WILL TO SERVE.

PROF. HARRY F. WARD, GENERAL SECRETARY METHODIST
FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE, BOSTON.

It was only a few days since that I heard a teacher of the philosophy of religion identify freedom and democracy. Our programme to-night clearly recognizes the fact that without the principle of service neither religion nor democracy is complete. To identify freedom with democracy leaves us with nothing but individualism. The elimination of the principle of service from the religion and democracy of the Western world has resulted in the spirit of selfish pietism in religion, of cutthroat competition in industry, and of destructive nationalism in government that has finally involved the world in the welter of this war. Without service liberalism in religion becomes just as sterile as the emotional self-seeking of evangelicalism. It may seek fellowship, but without yielding to the law of service, fellowship becomes a mere platonic affection, a vague and ineffective sentiment.

The task of religion in democracy is to generate the will to serve, for the highest freedom for the individual is the freedom to serve, and one's own personal religious experience is only completed, or rather it has only reached its final stage of development, when the yoke of service with its burden is undertaken. But you will remember that when Jesus was trying after three years of teaching to make that plain to his disciples, he faced a condition which led him to point out that they were to endeavor to put the principle of service into effect in a world which was organized around a contrary principle. He pointed out that the Gentiles had their lords and rulers who had dominion over them. "Ye shall not be as the Gentiles," he said, "but whoever would be greatest among you, let him be the servant of all." And there lies the conflict. There is brought to light the fact that all the civilizations of this world, including that in which we now live, whatever may have been their form of political control, have been organized around the will to power. The right of the strong man to rule has been the essential organizing principle.

But in the community life that is to express the religion which Jesus taught, the religion which was the culmination of the teaching of the old Hebrew prophets, there is to be this change in organization,—the central power

is to be the will to serve. Even in a democracy, therefore, religion faces the task of carrying to completion the principle of freedom which has been largely its own contribution. This it must do not simply by generating the will to serve in the individual citizen, but by demanding and securing the organization of community life around the principle of the will to serve. Those who endeavor to do that in this age find not simply that the world is organized on a different principle, but they find that the will to power has been strengthened by an intellectual discipline, by a philosophy which has intrenched itself not simply in one nation but which has been taught in the universities of all the nations. They find that the will to power has been so strengthened in the practical world that it has been able to reward the men who have expressed it with the richest prizes, not simply in the state but in the economic life. High office and big fortunes have been the reward of the will to power, and for the will to serve there has been little offered except that which Jesus had to offer his followers when, seeking a throne, he could give them nothing but a cross. Therefore, if religion would be effective it must meet this intellectual culture and this practical discipline of the will to power with an equally effective mental discipline and practical cultivation of the will to serve.

Not long since I heard one of the greatest teachers and investigators of church history that this country has produced, speaking on "The Unfinished Reformation," declare that the great task which lay before the churches now to complete the Reformation was to develop the technique of service. But there is something more than a technique to be developed; there needs also to be developed a propaganda of intellectual discipline, a teaching of the principle of service and of its application. And we might as well begin in the church. If religion is going to require for its fulfilment that the whole of society be organized around the will to serve, of necessity the church as a social group, one member of the social organism, must itself manifest that principle. The will to serve must be the controlling principle of its own life. About the church there must be no shadow of a suspicion of self-seeking. It must not be an organization living off the community, in any sense. Its motive before the community must not even appear to be simply the seeking of members or of income. It must be a group which is recognized by the community as existing simply to

serve, willing, if need be, to lose its own life in its quest for religion and democracy; willing to meet all opposition, seeking only to minister to all the needs of all the people in the community. Only so can the church to-day find authority, because authority to-day rests entirely upon the democratic basis of service rendered. The church can never sustain authority to-day on the external principle of king or pope. When the church begins to seek an authority based only on service, then the church will begin to reveal to the world a God adequate for democracy, and if we are going to develop a world-wide democracy we must needs have an interpretation of God that is adequate for such a condition of world life.

Under the stress and strain of the war, even Mr. Wells must needs get himself a god, but when he gets his god, lo and behold, his god is a king, and he conceives and accepts a mediæval theology. This may well make us consider that our concept of God has been worked out in an aristocratic state of society. It remains to develop a God whom democracy can fellowship with, a working-men's God, if you please, one with whom we may indeed have communion as we work with him in the service of mankind.

Then we have the task before us of demanding and securing that the world of work, this bread-and-butter business, this industrial process of modern society, be organized around the will to serve; for there, of course, is the last intrenchment of the will to power. After you have overthrown autocracy in the form of a military caste you still have left that same old principle dug deep into the conflict of the economic life. Here you have the will to power, no longer grasping a throne, but grasping economic control, and able under the law of profit to secure and enforce it.

It seeks not merely gain in the sense of the piling up of goods, but it seeks the control which success in that process gives. Instead of a feudal military aristocracy intrenched in and sustained by land ownership, the will to power to-day builds up by fortunes and by economic control a plutocratic group of special privilege, with special opportunity for culture and for luxury. As a counterpart of that there grows at the other end of society a dependent group denied the privileges and sometimes the decent necessities of life, and in between a middle class thwarted and baffled in its longings and aspirations, denied full opportunity for its development. No democ-

racy can long endure under such conditions, and thus the will to power in the industrial world continually destroys and defeats even our limited expression of democracy in the state. When you come to get the facts behind the recent denials of free speech and mob terrorisms of this country, you find that the dominant motive is not political, it is industrial. It is an attempt to defeat any rebellion against the principle of autoocracy in the economic world.

We are faced, then, with the necessity of demanding and securing that the state be organized around the will to serve. At once we are confronted by our nationalistic states, holding on fast to the principle of absolute sovereignty, willing to yield nothing of it. When we begin to talk about making the world safe for democracy, what do we mean? Do we mean simply the old principle of States' rights carried over into the international field? Do we mean to propose presently to sign a paper contract which will give the right of free action and free development to the smaller states, which will give people everywhere the right to walk to the ballot-box once in so often and choose their rulers even as we do? And then do we mean that these states, being free, shall simply be left with no obligation of service to the common life, each securely intrenched in its absolute sovereignty? Because if we do mean nothing but that, all that we have done is to increase the complication and the antagonism in the international field, by multiplying the sovereign units and the possible causes of conflict between them.

Here lie the supreme challenge and the supreme opportunity for religion. If American resources, economic and military, are to have the balance of power in this conflict, are the religious resources of America to be cast into the scale? Are they to have any decisive voice in the issue of this struggle? Is the United States, coming for the first time into the fellowship of the nations, getting unto itself great military power, developing great economic strength,—is the United States to seek mastery or service? The mere fact of political democracy has not saved any people yet from economic imperialism in international relations. Read the story of diplomacy in Europe for the last ten years and ask what France did in Morocco and what England did in Persia, and then see if the mere fact of political democracy means the will to serve in international relations. And unless the United States becomes dominated by the will to serve, her

entrance into the family of nations as a force of supreme strength simply means another great menace to the future peace of the world. Is the United States to come into the international sphere not as one seeking power, not as one seeking economic control, but as the suffering servant among the nations, willing to pay the price to the uttermost to lead the peoples of the earth into a fellowship of co-operative service? That is the question for religion in this country to answer.

IV. A REVERENT DEMOCRACY.

RABBI HARRY LEVI, CONGREGATION ADATH ISRAEL,
BOSTON.

The message of religious democracy. What is a religious democracy? A religious organization not only fashioned but developed of the people, by the people, and for the people, in which each is guaranteed the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and in which government is always with the consent of the governed. The definition explains why we have had so little of religious democracy in human history. Because we have had so little of liberal religion. For except liberal religion build the house of democracy, they who build it labor in vain. Illiberal religion by the very nature of its platform must of necessity be autocratic, not merely toward those without the faith, but toward those within. Its will is imposed rather than submitted, so that its people cannot know real freedom, or fellowship. These they cannot know until their outlook upon life, their spiritual outlook, becomes liberal, and until this becomes a fact, however profound their loyalty to the form of faith with which they are identified and however keen their missionary zeal, they cannot claim to be religious. Undemocratic religion is a contradiction in terms. A church may be undemocratic; real religion, never.

We speak of religious democracy as though we wished religion to learn from politics. Of political democracy we have known for generations. How long have we spoken of religious democracy? It is as though we were just beginning to believe that what people have succeeded in achieving politically they ought to be able to find religiously. Truth is, that political democracy has been historically a religious product. Was not Israel's ancient theocracy democratic, based on the insistence that there should be but one law for all? Was not religion at the bottom of every protest against autocratic authority and every demand for freedom? Protestantism and Puritanism made for democracy, but they were religious movements. And was not the Bible at the root of our own American form of government? Was it not indeed almost the political text-book of our early democratic colonists? Religion has always made for democracy, has made democracy possible, and, I may add, alone can

make democracy possible. For what is democracy but an experiment in social relations, an attempt to lift social morality to the highest possible level. Now morality, individual or social, is possible without religion. It is possible for a man to be good though he be not religious, in the usual acceptance of the term, though he have no belief in God. The possibility exists, but not the likelihood. And though the man be good, his goodness is not apt to be as comprehensive or as permanent as it would be if a belief in a Higher Power dictated his conduct. It is religion, and religion alone, that makes fellowship and service obligatory instead of optional, compulsory and not a matter of whim or momentary emotionalism or sentimentalism. And so it is religion alone, a sense of a direct personal relation between man and God, that can achieve that relation between man and man, between man and the social organism of which he is part, which is essential to democracy. We want neither ecclesiasticism nor denominationalism in the state. But unless it has a goodly measure of religion a democracy cannot endure.

Religion is the essence of democracy. Reverence is the essence of religion. What is religion? A sum of beliefs, of moral duties, and of ceremonial observances. Forms, of course, are but temporary expedients, helpful in making concrete that which is abstract, in visualizing historical incidents associated with religion and reminding us of them when we should otherwise forget them: means, which when their spiritual significance is gone may be and should be indeed abandoned, but which for the time being and for some time to come will be of considerable religious service. The fundamental elements of religion, of course, are creed and conduct, which must be causally related. More, they must be in accord, as they will be if the creed be real, if it be genuine conviction and not mere profession. For after all, we are such stuff as our religious dreams are made of. As we believe, we are. Of the Greeks it has been said that they made their gods but magnified human beings, and of the Jews, that they tried to make themselves diminutive gods. And the difference may well explain the difference in moral life achieved by the two peoples. We shall be holy only when we believe God is holy, good only when we feel that God is good, and when a sense of His holiness and goodness fills us not only with gratitude but with awe. It is Kant confessing, "Two

things fill me with ever greater awe, the starry heavens without and the moral law within." It is Linnæus, "I saw God in His glory passing near me and I bowed my head in worship," and then writing above his study door the words, "Live innocent; God is present." It is Jacob waking from his dream and saying, "Surely God is in this place and I did not know it," Elijah finding God in the still small voice, and Moses removing his sandals when he realized that it was holy ground whereon he stood. "Have you any real religion?" asked a young talkative minister of Dr. Lathrop. "None to speak of," came the reply. One is reminded of Disraeli's assertion that all intelligent men are of one religion. "What is that religion?" he was asked. "Intelligent men never say," came the reply. Deep waters run still. The more real the faith, the less it may be put into words, but the more profoundly it will be felt. And it is the faith that is felt, the faith that makes God real, the faith that is conscious of His presence even when it cannot look upon Him face to face, that makes religious life, that makes holiness, possible. Like Matthew Arnold's conduct, this holiness may be three-fourths of life, but at best it is merely an expression—the inevitable expression—of the other fourth which is reverence. Conduct may be the end of religion: reverence is its beginning.

Reverence makes for obedience, for obedience of a different, of a higher, order than that inspired by fear. The service of fear is always an unwilling service,—the service of slavery, not of freedom. Reverence makes for emulation. We shall never be gods, but we may be God-like. None shall become God, but each can become a son of God. And reverence makes for vision, because it is at once an expression of sincerity and modesty. The search upon which we embark insincerely will never lead us to our goal. "God is near those" only "who seek Him in truth." And "it is as hard," said Pliny, "to instruct conceit as it is to fill an empty bottle with a cork in it." We learn only when and what we realize we do not know. And that is why reverence helps us find God and see Him as He is and—what is also important—helps us see ourselves as we are. We realize our own limitations in the presence of God's infinity. We come to understand as otherwise we could not understand at all that God is not localized but omnipresent, not "cribbed, cabined, and confined" to the distant yesterday, but still close at hand; that He revealed himself in

the long ago, but that He has never ceased revealing Himself; that He is our God and the God of our fathers, but the God of others as well; that, while we have been blessed of Him not only with food and shelter, but with aspiration, with the desire to reach up and out and the capacity to realize this desire, with the revelations that have given us truth, we can claim no monopoly on this blessing. If God is, He is God of all, of those of every race, creed, clime, and color, of those of every land and of every flag, of the good, aye, and even of the bad. God is constant and therefore never abandons men, whatever they do, even when they turn their backs on Him. Real reverence, and real reverence only, understands the Fatherhood of God.

Between this reverence and denominationalism there is no conflict. We do not all have the same vision. We cannot all see the same things in the same way, nor interpret alike the things we see. But because another differs from me is no reason for believing that he is wrong, that he is blind, or that he is God-forsaken. No one people monopolizes God. He has given something of Himself, of His truth, of His blessing, to all, and has commanded men to share that which they have received at His hands. In the last analysis we are all simply stewards of what we possess, be our possession material or spiritual. We are given, that we may give; blessed, that we may bless. I am chosen, I belong to a chosen people, but every individual, every people, is chosen, to lift others to its own level, to give to society the highest of which it is capable. It is the combination of these various contributions that makes life, civilization, progress, truth, as white as the fusion of all the colors in the rainbow, as St. Peter's was the product of contributions from all parts of Europe, and the Washington Monument represented the gift of every part of the United States. John Dewey says that the charm of the United States lies in the differences that obtain between the elements that compose it. He likes to feel not only that people living in one district of the country differ from each other, but that the districts themselves differ, and that New England is not just the same as the middle or more distant West. A political democracy is an organization not of men who are all alike, but of those who, with all their differences, know absolute equality in their relations to the government, have the same rights, the same privileges, and the same responsibilities. Similarly,

in a religious democracy it is not necessary that men should have exactly the same views, though it is essential that there shall be a clear and general understanding of their common relation to God, a relation of common rights and common obligations.

Reverence is feeling. Reverence is belief. But sometimes it is both put into words. And so it becomes a confession or prayer. Now there are people who can pray alone. It is interesting to note the fact that the founders of practically every known faith came upon the revelations that gave them their mission, in solitude, far from the haunts of men. But most of us are social beings, gregarious animals if you will, and we not only live better and work better, but pray better, together. And that is why we have congregations and public worship. Most of us who belong to congregations would not yield to prayer at all if it were not for such association. It is the contagion of the crowd. But surely what holds for the reverence of solitude and silence must hold for the reverence of public worship. What we know to be true when the still small voice speaks to us, must remain true when we gather with the multitude and lift our voices in prayer. If when we are alone we know that God is one, and that therefore mankind must be one in spirit, if then we know how as men we are related and must be related, the same truth must appeal to us when we are in the house of worship. And that is why our public worship should be democratic, why our ritual service should be such that men of every faith may share it with us. We call our synagogues and churches houses of prayer for all nations. And we welcome those of every religious standpoint to our services. And then we offer them a service so exclusive that they have been with us but a few moments before they realize that with all the welcome, with all the fact that they are in a place of religion, with all the truth of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, they are counted rank outsiders, aliens, unless they wish to forswear their own platforms and yield that which to them is the truth. We may mouth our pretensions as we will. We shall never be really religious until we are democratically reverent and reverently democratic.

The day of the universal religion has not yet dawned. We still have our prejudices because we still have our limitations. But we are on the high road. Not even the war with all its hatreds and its national animosities

can blind us to the social progress we have already made and the further progress that awaits us. This gathering is but an illustration of what we have already achieved and a prophecy of what is still to be. Let us stand firm. Let us hold fast to the vision that is ours, and the resolution and courage. The future belongs to us. We are still in the wilderness. But we can see the promised land afar, and, unlike Moses, in God's own time we shall be permitted to enter it.

PROBLEMS OF A NEW WORLD ORDER.

I. PROBLEMS BORN OF THE WAR.

DR. CHARLES W. BLUNT.

I propose to speak to you on problems of four sorts,—the political, the industrial, the social, and the religious. Not all these questions or problems can truly be said to be born of the war. Many of them were conceived long ago. Some of the very best statements on political organization and political life, for instance, are two thousand years old. And again, some of the social problems which have been wonderfully speeded up by the war were in existence as problems years before the war broke out. But I think it is true of all of them that, though some were already in the womb of time, all have developed to an astonishing degree during the past three years, and have been forced upon the attention of the entire world.

The first problems to which I ask your attention are political. They will not take much time, because it is so very obvious that there has been an immense political movement in half the world during the three years and a third of war through which we have now passed. As striking a case as any is the development of democracy in the British Empire. That is illustrated in Great Britain by the extraordinary difference in personal aptitude and social status and quality between the men who are now in the supreme places in Great Britain and those who used to occupy those places. Just think what it has meant for Great Britain to put into the chief places two Disraelis, to begin with,—the Waltham, Lloyd George, son of a humble teacher who was a Unitarian, and David Lloyd, son of a Presbyterian minister in New Brunswick, and, most wonderful of all, a man who has spent a large part of his life in business,—if all things in the world for an Englishman! This is very striking evidence of the prodigious change which has taken place in Great Britain itself. But how much more remarkable is the unity developed during the war in what English writers are coming to speak of as the "British Commonwealth." That is the most extraordinary political change during these past three years, and wholly unexpected. I have not known a single Englishman,

and am not now in correspondence with a single Englishman, who had the slightest vision of this suddenly demonstrated unity of the British Empire, or of the Empire's reorganization as a commonwealth.

Various democracies, not all having what we should call a democratic administration, but still true democracies, have demonstrated in this war that democracy is, on the whole, the most efficient form of government when once it is roused. It is slow in starting, it takes more time than an autocracy to get into action; but when it does get going, it is the most formidably efficient form of government in the world.

The war has brought out a new co-operation of all classes in these great democratic communities working together, not under a master, but with co-operative good-will and energetic following of the chosen leader. We have gained wonderfully in this country since we have been ourselves at war; but the gain began before, in the co-operation of all classes of citizens in the preparation for war. We have gained much during the organization of these several armies which we call by different names.—the Regular army, the National Guard, and the National Army,—much toward disciplined co-operation. In the first place, the volunteering from all classes of society was a striking indication of the zeal of our people in co-operation to prepare for war. Then, the draft taught us a deal about the duty a young man owes to his country in war—to risk his life and his health, and endure hardships, at the call of his country. That is a magnificent exaltation of a democratic people taking efficient action in the prosecution of war.

And now under the leadership of the President of the United States we have undertaken to be a member of a league which is to enforce peace when this war is over. What does that imply with regard to democratic co-operation when this war ceases? It implies that we must maintain for many years a very large army always ready for service. Again, we are going to avail ourselves of what we have already learnt and put into practice of universal service, with no exemptions except for absolute disability; and even in such cases all the exempted must pay a special tax,—they must contribute with their money to the support of the army in which they cannot serve. Then we shall have to do just what the Swiss do—assume as a national duty the care of the physical training of the entire youth of this country, the physical

training previous to the military training. Just as the Swiss do, we shall have to see to it that in all the schools of the country a sound physical training is given with national aid, and, in addition, that hygiene, personal and community hygiene, is taught adequately in every school.

Now these, I say, are methods of national democratic action which we have already learnt much about, but which we must put into practice as soon as possible, in order to redeem the pledge which has been given by President Wilson, that we will join an effective league to enforce peace when this war is over.

I must pass on to the industrial changes. We have had in this country, as in Great Britain, a widespread industrial warfare going on now for many years, and on the whole growing worse and worse. It has been accompanied by some decided improvements in the organization of our industries, such, for instance, as the enactment of laws making the conditions under which factory labor is performed more wholesome, safer, and therefore more efficient; but, on the whole, the strife in the factory and mining industries has been bitter and disastrous, causing suspensions of fundamental industries, immense losses, and a bitter state of feeling between capital and labor, the two indispensable partners in production.

One of the changes which the war is introducing into this country is a new era of co-operation instead of warfare in the production and the distribution of the necessities of life, such as foods, fuels, clothing, and transportation. Transportation in all its forms has become an absolute necessary of life over large areas. We notice already—though we have only been seven months at war—that our government, our democratic government, is taking on astonishing new functions with regard to the industries of the country. It is determining prices of commodities, and is trying to fix wages; it is regulating transportation, or at least trying hard to do so. For war purposes these are all gains in the industrial condition of our country, some of which, it may be hoped, will extend beyond the war into the times of peace—not all of them, of course, but chiefly the new co-operations in regard to the production and distribution of necessities of life.

I think we can already see that this industrial change, this solution of a grave industrial problem, is wider than any one nation. It is unquestionably an international problem. No one nation by itself can solve it. The

food supply of Europe at this moment, for instance, is an international problem of the gravest sort. It is not the problem of any one nation or any two nations; it is a grave international problem to feed Europe, and even to feed the armies of Europe and our own people at the same time. We must expect, therefore, that when peace comes, these industrial problems and changes will keep on, and will preserve their international character.

I pass on to social changes. Before this war broke out, that is, before 1914, striking social changes had been brought about in several countries of the world, but notably in the democratic countries. The social changes brought about in Germany were only or chiefly those which related to the national industries and to the public health,—to those two things, industries and public health. The amount of social change in the structure of the German Empire was very small. But in the democracies of the world, before this war broke out, there had been a good many social changes, among which the chief, perhaps, were results of the new functions assumed by democratic governments and the consequent changes in the possession and practice of individual liberty. These social changes related in an important degree to the public health and especially to the prevention of disease and vice. In these matters, before the war broke out there was a strong tendency to make the collective interests supreme, the collective as against the individual interests. It is impossible for a government to provide adequately and efficiently for public sanitation and to prevent violations of good practice in regard to the public health without interfering in many ways with individual liberty. Even in such matters as the control of parents over children you cannot regulate properly public health without interfering with what used to be regarded as a special right of parents to control their own children, sick, or acquiring habits which are not only unhealthy for the individual but also for the community. You cannot, for instance, segregate the defective children who have gone to the public school without interfering with what used to be thought the inviolable rights of parents. You cannot control contagious diseases or pestilences without interfering in various ways, striking ways, with individual liberty as understood in this country fifty years ago. These social changes are of the utmost importance to the welfare of the human race. The war has speeded them up wonderfully.

I was the first president of the American Federation for Sex Hygiene, soon absorbed into the American Social Hygiene Association. I have also been for some years president of the Massachusetts Society for Social Hygiene. In those official stations I learnt that it was impossible to get any adequate teaching of social hygiene through the churches, particularly through the Catholic Church, or through the public schools, and that the Young Men's Christian Associations and the Young Women's Christian Associations were unwilling to institute that teaching. And yet there is absolutely no way to deliver the American communities from the effects of venereal diseases without making that topic a subject of universal education. Now the war has brought a wonderful change in this respect. Take, for example, the teaching of the continent and moral life now done by the Young Men's Christian Associations all over the country, and at all the cantonments of the National Army. The Associations are making a special point of teaching social hygiene; and they are doing it with plainness, efficiency, and great success. And because alcoholism, prostitution, and venereal disease are always copartners in sapping the strength of an army or a nation, the teaching of abstinence from alcohol has made great strides since the war broke out in August, 1914. These social reforms were not absolutely born of the war, but they have suddenly burst into a new growth, and are developing at a great rate.

I pass on to the religious changes which the war has emphasized in a truly marvellous manner, changes which were beginning in the world before the war. In some parts of this country they had gone far, but not in its larger areas. The war has suddenly given them great new effect all over the country.

What are some of these changes? Not, as I say, new entirely, but wonderfully emphasized and developed. You recall the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, which was organized a few years before the war. It was, as those of you who are Unitarians remember, confined to the evangelical denominations. Unitarians, Universalists, and Friends were not admissible. Nevertheless, it was seeking common action in good works by several denominations which had not been accustomed to much co-operation. You recognize that this is the eighth meeting of this National Federation of Religious Liberals. It started, therefore, before the war; it started before the extraordinary public demonstration

which Germany has given of its new religion. The universal state of mind in Germany as to the power of the state, the subordination of the individual, and the equivalence of force and right is really a new religion; and it is a religion held with profound conviction and enthusiastic devotion. This National Federation of Religious Liberals started before the world knew anything about this German religion and its fruits. But it was not strong at first in this country. Perhaps it is not strong now; but it has grown, developed, and the mind of considerable masses of people is now expressed by the doctrines and practices of the Federation. The progress of liberal opinion in religion is one of the most striking phenomena in American society during the past ten years; but the greater part of the progress has been made within the last three years.

What is the fundamental religious motive of the American people to-day? It has passed beyond the motive of personal or group salvation. It has really abandoned that object as prime religious motive. What takes its place? I have looked for nearly seventy years, and I still look, at the stream of young men belonging to all churches, all denominations, including Jews, going through Harvard College. They, like most young men at their age, are not specially religious in any technical sense; but I came to the conclusion long ago that they are penetrated by a strong religious motive. What is it? The motive of service to men in this world. They had not the least idea of attending to their own salvation,—never thought of it indeed; but nearly all of them were penetrated to the depths of their souls by the desire to be of service to fellow-men. That is the doctrine of the Parable of the Good Samaritan. And if I were asked to state the grounds of the religious convictions of most people to-day in our country, I should say that the grounds were to be found in that Parable. That story goes into detail in a curious way, and the details are all modern in the highest degree. They are of this very generation. We all remember how the hero of that story was a Samaritan, and that the Jews had *no* dealings with the Samaritans. Is there any race of people in the world of which it can be said that the American people have *no* dealings with them? I do not know any such race, and I do not believe there is one. That is to say, the doctrine of the Good Samaritan story is more comprehensive as regards human brotherhood, and as regards

doing good to all men, than any modern practice in these United States.

There is a new discussion among school-teachers and school superintendents in these days about the expediency of teaching in a concrete way. You must teach from real objects and examples; you must teach from real persons and things, and illustrate all your general principles by biographical particulars, and by pointing out the concrete illustrations of the precept you would enforce. But I have never heard in these educational discussions in teachers' meetings and superintendents' meetings anything in the way of teaching so concrete as the Parable of the Good Samaritan. Think of Jesus taking as concrete illustration this outcast, this person with whom no Jews would have any dealings, and making him pour oil and wine into the wounds of the man that had fallen among thieves! Nothing can be more concrete as an illustration than that. But more striking still, that Parable says, "And the priest and the Levite went by on the other side." That is a teaching that a great many unchurched people in our country to-day absolutely adopt, or accept. They believe—without due warrant—that the priest and the Levite always go **by on the other side.**

But I must not speak too long on this Parable of the Good Samaritan, although to me it is the best illustration of effective religious teaching in all literature. This service to men—let us consider just a few moments what religious service is in these days. The most religious service in the world used to be service rendered by priests and Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Mercy in olden times to sick and suffering persons—from religious motives, to be sure, but in a very ignorant and unsuccessful way, and with always an eye to the salvation in another life of the recipient of service through the agency **of the giver of the service.**

Conceive of the spirit in which physicians, surgeons, and nurses are working to-day in the service of all the belligerent nations and their soldiers and sailors. Can any motive be more truly described as religious than the motive which induces a nurse to spend herself literally in the service of badly wounded men, of insane persons,—that is the service which requires the greatest courage, skill, and devotion,—of the chronic sick, of the incurable, of the feeble-minded? The motive which actuates nurses to-day in all these fields is a truly religious motive,

just as much so—and indeed more so—as the motive which actuated the priests and Sisters of Charity who worked in the mediæval hospitals. To be sure, they never think of the personal salvation of the patient they attend. So far as I know, that thought never comes to them. It may perhaps in Catholic institutions; it does not in Protestant institutions. And yet is there a better motive, even when thought of as a religious motive, than the motive which governs the physicians, surgeons, and nurses to-day in their several ministries to mankind?

Look at the work now being done in the Y. M. C. A. huts. In the first place, the Young Men's Christian Associations have greatly enlarged their ideas about religious service. The Y. M. C. A. organizations are teaching all sorts of subjects to all sorts of people; they have been for some years past, but now that teaching work is enormously developed. They are attending in the huts behind the fighting lines to the physical needs of the suffering men who come back from the trenches. They are holding religious meetings in their huts, led by ministers and speakers belonging to all sorts, not only of denominations, but of religions. They are opening their huts in France to the Mohammedan, the Hindu, and the Buddhist as well as to the Catholic. Now, to open a Y. M. C. A. building to Catholics is well-nigh a miracle. This generous policy is adopted to-day, and it is going to be much amplified in Europe as the Y. M. C. A. applies the money which was raised the other day, in this country, to huts in Russia, Italy, France, Great Britain, and Canada as well as at home. This is a great teaching of religious liberty and toleration. This is a great new religious movement in the world which the Association of Religious Liberals should watch with confidence, sympathy, and rejoicing.

To illustrate what I deem to be the new religion of to-day, I want to read to you a portion of a letter written by Judge E. Rockwood Hoar in the first full year of the Civil War to his son Samuel, who had just enlisted in one of the Massachusetts regiments, and was leaving home—had left home, in fact, when this letter was sent him. It expresses my idea of the Unitarian religion, to begin with. Judge Hoar was a Unitarian, his father was a Unitarian, and his son was a Unitarian. First, he gave his son some extraordinarily sagacious advice about the care of his health and body. Judge Hoar was not a physician, he was a lawyer; but the advice he gave his

son about the care of his health and his body could not be improved upon by any physician to-day—and this letter was written in 1862. Then he goes on as follows:—

“I hope you are going with a love for your country, and your cause, and with a determination to be faithful to every duty you have undertaken. My boy, you bear the name of one, who to the end of his honored life, never shrank from a duty, however painful, nor from a danger to which duty called him. Be sure that you do no discredit to it! Neither by cowardice, by falsehood, by impurity, by levity, nor by selfishness. Remember always your home and your friends—those who will welcome your return with pride and joy if you shall come back in virtue and honor; who will cherish your memory if, faithful and true, you have given up your life; but to whom your disgrace would cause a pang sharper than death.

“Remember your obligations to duty and to God. And may these thoughts keep you from temptation, and encourage and strengthen you in danger or sickness.

“And now, my dear boy, I commend you to God—and to the power of his grace. May God bless and keep you. Think of your heavenly father in health and in sickness, in joy and in sorrow. Go to him for strength and guidance.

“You are very dear to our hearts—and your absence leaves a great place vacant in our home. If it be according to his will, may you come back to us in safety and honor;—but whatever is before us, may his mercy and love be ever with you, and his grace be sufficient for you.

With deep affection,

YOUR FATHER.”

That I believe to be the real spirit in which fathers and mothers are sending their boys to war to-day, and in which the boys themselves are going. That I believe to be the religious spirit of these days. That is the spirit which animates the young men, their kindred, and the American people.

II. SOME RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE WAR.

PROF. DANIEL EVANS, D.D., ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL
SCHOOL.

A great crisis in the life of a people reveals their moral and religious condition and has a profound and lasting effect upon them. When for example an earthquake occurs, it discloses not only something of the forces of nature, but also the forces of human nature. When homes, and business houses, mills and factories, schools, public buildings, and churches are destroyed, some men walk about in a dazed condition, others become selfish and base and do dastardly things, while many rise to the occasion and show their nobility of character, and do deeds that glorify humanity. In like manner, in time of war, and especially now, in this world-crisis, the hearts of men are disclosed, and the effect of this terrible tragedy upon them is very profound. We see once again how good and how bad, how selfish and how altruistic, how brave and how cowardly, how noble and how base, how sane and how insane, how divine and how diabolical men may be.

Some see only the good side revealed in and through war; others see only the bad; some almost justify the war because of its revelation of this wondrous goodness of our humanity; and others fail to find any good *good* because the evil is so terrible. We must, however, recognize the two sides if we would know our problems and do something toward their solution. A wise physician, when he was asked whether men or women were most easily cured of disease, replied: "Sir, that is a great and subtle question amongst doctors: Some say, 'no'; others say 'yes'; and I say, *yes and no*." We must face the two sides revealed, for they constitute the favorable and the unfavorable elements in our problems.

Again, we must take into consideration the differences in our problems at the beginning, the middle, and the end of the war. The moral and religious conditions of the nations at war, and indeed of the whole world, are quite different in these different periods. When the war broke out, a great wave of religious interest and enthusiasm swept over the nations at war, and men looked for a revival of religion. The changes that have taken place in these three and a half short but tragic years

have disillusioned them. There has been no revival of religion at the front, nor at home; indeed in neither place has religion held its own. So will it be, in all probability, with us. We have witnessed much religious interest and enthusiasm, and probably we shall see more later when our troops are fighting and the dreaded list of casualties is scanned, but we must be ready for the probable recession of this religious wave.

Then, too, we should recognize the fact that our religious problems are different according to the personal equation involved, and to the nearness or distance from the front. In the very nature of the case, those who have loved ones at the front feel differently from others and their experiences are not quite the same. The moral and religious experiences and conditions of the men change considerably, according as they are in one or the other position, or are moving in one or the other direction. It is necessary to bear this consideration in mind, for it is a large element in our problems. With these preliminary considerations in mind, let us pass to some of our moral and religious problems.

We note, in the first place, *some problems of organized religion*. There is a grave situation before organized religion. The great branches of the Christian Church are seriously divided and hopelessly mixed up in this world war: Protestants are fighting Protestants; Western Catholics are fighting their fellow-Catholics; Eastern Catholics are divided amongst themselves; and men of the Jewish faith are fighting against their co-religionists, and the Ethnic religions are similarly divided. It is a sorry sight to see this cross-alignment of religions, but it is better so, perhaps, than if they were aligned as in the periods of religious wars; but in any case, this division and hostility of the organized religions of the world is a **tragic element in this war**.

Then again, we find that the positions of the churches are determined by the nations to which they belong. Here is a new problem of church and state. As the state is, so is the church; as the nation decides in respect to this war, so does the church follow. The church in principle is international, or universal, but in fact it is national. The state church in Germany is for the German side; the state church of England is for the English side; the non-state churches are on the side of their respective nations. And the Roman Catholic Church, which is universal in principle, and to a large

degree in practice, is in a most anomalous position. The Pope at first tried to be morally neutral: he would not decide who was responsible for the war. He leans favorably toward the Allies now that the victory appears to be on their side; but the Roman Catholic Church in our country, since war was declared, is with the Republic, and the higher clergy who yesterday did not know who was in the wrong are now convinced that we, at any rate, are in the right. It is a very difficult and trying time for infallibility.

Still further, all international religious organizations and agencies are involved in serious situations. As socialistic and international interests and agencies have suffered much damage, so also have the international religious organizations and agencies. The missionary work of all the churches has suffered grievously; international committees and commissions have been disrupted; suspicion and hatred have crept into the most altruistic and beneficent of all agencies of good-will; and the finest embodiment of the idealistic spirit the world has witnessed has been sorely affected. And churches in our own land who owe their origin, their creeds, their language, and their affiliations with enemy countries are now confronted with the problem of breaking their old connections, severing these ties, and changing their language in worship. This is of no great matter to the children, but to their parents it is a very painful matter.

Once more, we note the grave situation disclosed in respect to the relation of the Church and the world. There has been a keen sense of this for some time upon the part of men of vision and conscience, but there is now a clearer recognition and a more poignant consciousness of this divorce of the Church and the world in which it is set to do its mighty work. This world-cataclysm shows how separated the Church and the people are; how indifferent the masses are to the Church, and even to what the Church stands for; how ignorant vast numbers are as to what religion is, and how misinformed they are in respect to the teachings and the ideals of Christian religion. And it also shows that while the Church has done much to influence the ideals and the lives of men in respect to their individual character, home life, and personal relations, it has not done nearly as much as it should have to moralize the ideals and the practices of industry, political life, national interests, and international relations; and because these have not

been moralized, conditions arose in times of peace that made war almost if not altogether inevitable, for this war shows "writ large" what we then were. The war is not a "bolt from the blue," but the breaking of storm-clouds long gathering, and rising from the murky and miasmatic earth.

There are, however, certain favorable elements in the situation, which we must note. There is the new knowledge of one another as religious men and religious fellowships, and, as a consequence, greater appreciation. The pretensions of some churches as to their sole possession of truth, private relations with the Eternal, and exclusive use of the means of salvation look silly and childish in the presence of the grim realities of life, and the undoubted distribution of the fine qualities of courage and devotion, unselfishness and sacrifice to men of all churches and religions. Men of various churches and different religions are learning respect and consideration for one another at the front: they will recognize and appreciate real religion anywhere hereafter, and make us do the same.

There is, also, much co-operation in work at the front, in the camp, and at home. All the churches are occupied with the same tasks, and they are working together; Catholic and Protestant and Jew give their money to the same causes, support the same agencies, feel the same patriotic emotion, and respond to the same demand for brotherhood. As on the mission field, the greatness of the task and the necessities of the situation have made for greater fellowship and broader co-operation than at home; so we may look for a new alignment of religious organizations and fellowships. Men who have fought together and have been willing to die together for great human interests will find it easier, and quite natural, to worship together. And our increasing co-operative effort during this war here at home may create the desire and the habit to continue it after the war.

There is, in addition, the new wisdom of the clergy at the front. Here is an element of incalculable power for good in the next generation. The younger clergymen of all the churches are chaplains in the camps and at the front, and young theological students are there by the hundreds. These chaplains and theological students are amongst the very best men of the Church and the world: they are eager, keen, quick, sensitive, and courageous. Think of the effect upon them of their experiences in the

camp and at the front: they will see men at their best and worst; they will come into unpadding contact with grim realities; they will see what life demands of religion; and they will realize that religion must be real to grip the World. When these men come back and take charge of their parishes, or enter upon their interrupted course of studies, and will have in their care the churches for the next generation, no one can now predict what will happen.

The problems of organized religion can be solved, in my judgment, through these favorable elements in the situation. We may confidently look for greater interest in the central issues of life and thought, as a result of our experiences at home, and especially as a result of the experiences of the laymen and clergymen in the war. There will be less concern for the smaller issues, less time and thought spent on the mint, anise, and cummin of church life and thought, and more attention be given to the great and weighty things of the law and prophets and apostles. There will be less emphasis on the superficial differences, and more emphasis on the profound identities, of religion; there will be less interest in the antiquities of religion, and more interest in contemporaneous actualities,—perhaps it would be true to say that there will be more interest in the eternal things. When these men return from the threshold of the Eternal, some things that once loomed large will appear small and find their true place, and other things that once seemed small will be seen to be truly great, and will be highly prized.

We may also confidently expect a closer fellowship of all organized bodies of religion. It is not possible to have all the churches become one, even within the Protestant branch, nor perhaps desirable, for there are fundamental differences of principles, and the interests of religion and the world are best served by these several great divisions of organized religion. These differences are not merely historical heritages; they have psychological justification, and they serve to set forth differing ideals of life. We do not, therefore, expect nor desire such a reorganization of Christendom; but certainly there can be many mergers of closely related bodies, and there can be much practical co-operation in good works, and there can be mutual respect and consideration, and each and all may take their glory into the New City of God, through the Gate nearest to their life.

Once more, we may look for a greater and more serious attempt to relate the Church to the world. There must

be and there will come about a more determined and permanent effort to reach the unchurched, indifferent, and ignorant millions with a true and large message of life, with a profound and vital conception of real religion, in the interest of the men and the world primarily, and not in the interest of the churches, for the churches must become servants of men, and be subordinate to the kingdom, and be satisfied with being the means to such great ends, rather than being the ends themselves. They must become interested in men for their good, not for their own glory. And they must and will come to have a profounder and broader conception of salvation. Salvation must be interpreted in the terms of the redemption of the whole man, and of all men, and of all their relations and interests. It must come to mean the realization of the kingdom of God on the earth as well as in heaven.

We note, in the second place, some moral problems. We are certainly confronted with a grave moral situation. In all the countries which have been at war for some time, and there are signs of the same thing in our land, there has been engendered a spirit of hate. It has found terrific expression in "The Hymn of Hate," but it has manifested itself also in more deadly ways, in unspeakable cruelties, and the awful lust of wanton destruction. Serious men in all the countries at war stand in dread before this spirit, and are profoundly disturbed, and greatly alarmed at the havoc it is making, not only on enemy forces, but also on the souls of men who cherish it. It is a dangerous thing to awaken this slumbering blind brute passion in the bosoms of men. Moral indignation is one thing, but this spirit of hatred is quite another thing.

Again, there has been a considerable growth of moral scepticism. Men are profoundly disturbed by the impotency of moral ideals to grip and control men in mass-movements and national affairs. And the corroding doubt has arisen as to the relevancy of moral ideals in such a world as ours. Are not the natural forces utterly indifferent to questions of morals? And are not nations just natural forces, subject to the same laws and methods and arbitrants? What do winds and waves, lightning and earthquake know or care for human ideals? And what matter of right and wrong can shot and shell determine? Such questions are being asked by all sorts and conditions of men and women at home, and by the men who hear the hurtling shells go by. Naturalism in

morals was a theory of the study yesterday, and the practice of many in industry; to-day it has become the haunting spectre of many perplexed minds and sorely troubled hearts.

Then, too, we are confronted with much moral anarchy in all the countries at war, both at the front and at home. There has come about a breakdown of authority and discipline on the one hand, and of inner moral restraint on the other. The children are taken from school and put to work and earn much money; their fathers and older brothers are away at the front; under these conditions the moral anarchy that has arisen, the crimes against property and person that are committed, are alarming. The expenditures on luxuries and the abandonment to indulgence astonish serious men. The growth of intolerance toward honest differences of judgment and conscience, and the regression to the spirit and method of the Dark Ages in punishment of these differences, and the forgetting of the moral rights of the soul, and the Magna Charta of the Christian religion, which secures the soul the right to obey God rather than man, give earnest men and women deep concern. The moral damage wrought in the character of soldiers by their life in camp, and at the front, and when they return to villages and cities, is so great that those who love them best and recognize gladly the service they have rendered are profoundly distressed. Physicians do not ignore serious diseases in a community; moralists and publicists must not and cannot afford to ignore this moral damage.

There are, however, in this moral situation, created by this war, some favorable elements. If there is this dark side, there is also a bright side; if there is this revelation of the brute in man, there is also the disclosure of noble manhood.

We see in all their beauty and wonder the finer moral qualities of individual character. What cheerfulness of spirit and temper men show in the most distressing conditions of life! What an enduring of hardness with the minimum of complaint! What marvellous courage before all kinds of danger known and unknown, expected and unexpected! What unselfishness, utter disregard for safety and self, if a comrade's life is endangered! What beautiful kindness and tenderness on the part of some officers for their men! What a sense of living, and of being worth while to the race, these men at the front experience! What a spirit of sacrifice of place, vocation, and life itself they show!

Then, too, think of the new sense and noble realization of our common humanity, and the moral values of life. Men and women are willing to subordinate themselves to the welfare of the group, and to forego their private interests to the advantage of the public good; to devote their time and talents and wealth to the common welfare; to give their sons to the country, proud of the kind of boys they give, and hide for the inner chamber the pang of heart at their departure,—all the sacrifices of yesterday are nothing now in comparison with this new sacrifice, and there is nothing they count dear to themselves, if the great cause of Righteousness demands it of them.

When one thinks of these things his heart beats faster, and he feels a new reverence for our common humanity as it arises to the occasion when its great values are jeopardized.

The solution of these grave moral problems is through these better elements. The way to a nobler civilization is through these finer moral qualities. We must abandon hate, and show the spirit of chivalry that all true men opposed to one another possess. We must leave the dark and dismal region of moral scepticism, and come to a profound conviction of the power and relevancy of the moral ideal through the recognition of its wonder and glory in the lives of these men. We must learn self-discipline and moral restraint through the new spirit of devotion and comradeship. Here is a clear way out from the grave moral evils of our new situation to something higher and nobler than we have had before; here are experiences on which to draw for a reconstruction of our moral life, and powers of mind and conscience to be mobilized for the new civilization.

We note, in the third place, some distinctively religious problems of life created by the war. Not only the organizations of men in the interests of religion, and the moral spirit and personal relations of men are seriously and profoundly involved in this war, but, also, the inner life of the soul as it faces the ultimate reality and the final issues of life.

These indeed are grave problems. We think of the serious perplexities, and dark questionings, and even the complete breakdown of faith in the lives of many persons. In all great crises, the faith of men is shaken; religious scepticism comes into their souls; they question, or complain, or abandon all faith in any spiritual Reality. Why these wrongs? Why this awful suffering? Why

this terrible waste of human life? And how can all this go on if there is any real God in the heavens? The lights in the heavens have gone out for many a soul. Many are the spiritual tragedies acted in the souls of men in our day.

Again, we find not a little reaction against all religion because of the kind of religion preached and glorified. The extreme utterances of some ministers of religion in our country, with their bitter spirit of malice, and the undue familiarity of others with the counsels of the Eternal may have stirred the patriotic feelings of some, but they have also shocked the religious feelings of others, and for the sake of religion itself some persons have ceased to be religious.

The pathetic but natural spectacle of many peoples praying to the same God for his special favor and miraculous aid on their respective sides has given many persons much trouble. We must expect not a little distaste for religion because of these facts.

Then, too, there is much recrudescence of superstition and resort to various occultisms, all of which do rational and ethical religion much harm. In times of crises, when there is much emotional strain and stress, men and women fall far back in the cultural history of the race; they have recourse to occult powers; they consult astrologers, and they keep the mediums busy; or they have recourse to the angels of heaven, the saints of the Church, and the great heroes of their nations, and readily believe in their interest in, and presence with, their men in the battle. This is what we witness the world over at the present crisis. The emotions uncontrolled by reason produce all sorts of superstitions and occultisms. It is always more or less difficult to be sane and religious at the same time, and it is certainly so in the stress of war. And when sanity goes, superstition comes, and it is now here.

Then again we find a strong sense of fatalism developed in the men at the front. Nearly every chaplain, and large numbers of the men who write letters from the trenches, and the physicians in the hospitals bear witness to this striking phenomenon. It finds manifestation in the belief in Chance. The god Chance plays a large part in the thought of soldiers. They see how one man is taken and another left, and there is nothing in the character nor in the capacity of the men to explain this, and so they have recourse to chance, and say, "It just happens so." Or it finds expression in the feeling that

sooner or later every man will be hit by shot or shell. When the bullet misses it is because it does not have the man's name or number; any moment such a bullet may come, and then it is all up with the man. "Chance," "Fate," "Kismet" play a far larger part in their thought than the idea of Divine Providence.

Once more, there has not come about the revival of religion at the front that most men expected at the beginning of the war. It is true that the men attend religious services, receive the Holy Communion, and make their confession; they realize the imminence of the Eternal World; some of them pray fervently before going "over the top." But when the battle is over, and they get out of the front trenches, and go back to the supporting lines or to the village or city, when they are in the safety zone again, there are no moral evidences that much religious interest has lasted over. The religion of emergency is quite natural, and very primitive, but it does not have wearing quality.

And the thoughtful and earnest chaplains at the front are not surprised that men do not become truly and permanently religious under the circumstances. They see that war is "a muddy business," and "the souls of men are caked over," "their spiritual faculties are benumbed," they lose interest in all the finer things as well as in religion. It is a little difficult to feel religious when you are plunging your bayonet through the heart of a man.

However, even in this grave religious situation there are some favorable elements. There is the discovery of the inner life, and the recognition of its importance. When material wealth perishes, and outer supports break down, then there comes, with the greater souls, a profound sense of the need of spiritual wealth and inner supports. This was the discovery made by the prophets and psalmists of Israel when the nation was in peril; the same thing took place in Greece, when the city-state broke down; also in Rome with the crumbling up of the Empire. We may expect the same thing to take place now. We have lived too much in the external world; we have travelled far on this goodly frame the earth; we have lived for things and the control of forces. There has been much outer wealth, but not sufficient wealth of inner life; we have built all sorts of structures against wind and wave, but we have not built adequate inner supports against the gusts of passion, and the strain and stress of competition. We are beginning to see these defects and

to provide against their dangers, and to-morrow we may have new ideals and convictions on these matters. We shall look within as well as without, look up as well as down, and lend both hands.

There is also a growing sense of sin, and a chastened spirit of humility. We have been assured by a scientist who knows more of what transpires in the other world than ever entered into the heart of a theologian to conceive, that the modern man troubles himself very little about sin. Many men are beginning to think that this is just the trouble with the modern man. While some have created and condemned artificial sins, and others have pretty much ignored all sin, some men who are quite modern are recognizing the real sins of men. The dramatists have recognized what these men ignore; and the psychologists and psychiatrists uncover what these men have covered up, and the war itself is disclosing the hidden depths; and many men at the front are realizing most keenly how much folly and stupidity, how much weakness and wickedness there is in human life that is responsible for this war.

There is much chastening of spirit in these days: humility of mind and heart does not seem so much an archaic virtue as it appeared a little while ago. Men are rapidly giving up the conceit of self-deification so characteristic of some persons yesterday; they are rising from this kneeling posture before their own statues, and are beginning to look heavenward and to walk humbly and modestly with God.

There is also an appeal for the conservation of the dear departed. Never perhaps in the history of the world has there been so much sorrow. Miles and miles of the soil of the countries at war are devoted to the dead, and marked by crosses; the procession of men and women on the streets and to the churches, clothed in mourning garments, has taken much of the gay color out of our lives. Rachels are weeping for their husbands and boys, and they are not. Many of these men went to their death fearlessly, some in faith, others without hope; but those who gave them up make the great and yearning demand upon the universe that these dear ones be conserved. The sorrow of the Hellenistic world once built an altar to Pity; it once drove men to appeal to Jehovah not to let his holy one see corruption; it once drove the Christ himself to unfaltering faith in God. So may it be to-morrow with us. The sacrifice of our

loved ones and the sorrow of our hearts will lead us to a new interest in the destiny of souls, and the moral and spiritual nature and purpose of the universe. The cross on the grave will doubtless come to mean much and intensely to us when we scan the long and tragic list of casualties.

Once more, we must note as profoundly significant the strong conviction of men that the right will triumph, that the wrong will be defeated, and that the men responsible for this frightful tragedy will pay the moral and spiritual penalty. Men are not trusting altogether in their guns, nor in their own might; they are driven by an ineradicable conviction of their souls to trust in some supernatural and superhuman power to vindicate the right, to justify the sacrifices of men, and to guarantee the safety of the moral order. The great experiences of prophets in all ages are appreciated once more, and men believe again that the stars in their courses fight against Sisera, that the God of all the earth will do right, and men are climbing with Habakkuk to their tower on the housetop, to see what Jehovah will do against the nation whose God is its might. Here is something basic in the soul, and granitic in the cosmos, because fundamental in the power not ourselves that works for righteousness.

Grave as our religious problems are, we have in these deeper and greater experiences, suggestions for their solution. The way to the heart of reality is through the best in man. It is through the mind of man that we come to the reason of the universe; it is through the purposive will of man that we come to understand the purpose in the universe; it is through the conscience of man that we come to know the Eternal Righteousness. The highway to reality is through the moral experiences of life. If this way is not open, there is no other way left to us. If, as Epictetus taught, there are two handles to everything, either of which we may grasp,—but it makes a vast difference which we do take,—so with our problems of faith and doubt as to the ultimate Reality, or God; to grasp the handle of the best in human life is the way to get a hold on the best in the universe.

And we must go through and with all these deeper and greater experiences to a true reading of the nature of this spiritual Reality. No tribal God with limited and prejudiced interests, no little struggling God whom the universe might annihilate at any moment, no capricious Almighty Will not amenable to reason nor subject

to law will suffice us. We must have a God adequate to all our needs and values, dynamic in action, law-abiding in method, righteous in all his purposes, sympathetic in all his relations, and loving in all his attitudes.

Religion, as the personal relation with such a God, must be rational in its spirit, moral in its temper, social in its causes, world-wide in its interests, and co-operative in its tasks and methods. It must be the religion of the whole man and for all men, in moral and spiritual fellowship with God.

The justification of God must come through the travail of the souls of all good men, through the lives of his suffering servants, through the redemption wrought in the characters of men and in the reconstruction of the world, and still more, through his own identification with men in all their struggle, his own participation in their sufferings, being afflicted in all their afflictions, his own atoning life in the awful anguish of the aroused conscience of humanity over the wrongs done, and his own reconciliation of all conflicting elements in the greatness and grandeur of his redemptive love.

If this war should bring us the experience and wisdom that it has brought to many a man who has given his life to the great cause, then indeed would we be able to see clearly what our grave problems are, and courageously attempt their solution. If we had Donald Hankey's experience, should we not all see of the travail of our souls to be satisfied?

"I have seen with the eyes of God. I have seen the naked souls of men, stripped of circumstance. Rank and reputation, wealth and poverty, knowledge and ignorance, manners and uncouthness, these I saw not. I saw the naked souls of men. I saw who were slaves and who were free; who were beasts and who were men; who were contemptible and who honorable—I have seen the vanity of the temporal and the glory of the Eternal. I have despised comfort and honored pain. I have understood the victory of the cross.—O Death, where is thy Sting!"

SOCIAL REFORMS AS RELIGIOUS DUTIES.

I. FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIAL REFORM WORK.

REV. FREDERIC W. PERKINS, D.D., MINISTER FIRST
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This address, as the general theme of the afternoon indicates, is meant to be introductory to a consideration of "Social Reforms as Religious Duties." Others will speak of specific reforms. My purpose, as I conceive it, is to emphasize the truth that social readjustments, political, economic, industrial, international, are products of genuine religion, signs of its vitality and agents of its expansion; and, what is equally true, that if social reforms are to express more than class conflicts, they must be animated by the spirit of justice and brotherly good-will.

I speak, naturally, from the viewpoint of a working parish minister of a Christian church. I take it for granted that social relationships are the field of Christian operations and that a veritable kingdom of God is the finest product and vindication of Christian ambitions. How is organized Christianity to make its distinctive contribution to that end?

One answer is that its contribution is improved individuals. With the establishment of social reforms the church has not primary concern. The problem of the church is the ever present problem of personal character, of righteousness, sin, and redemption. Let it attend to these, and leave problems of disease, poverty, politics, industry, standards of living to other agencies. Transformed men will transform society. Social reform is a by-product of spiritual regeneration.

That conception contains so much truth as often to obscure its fatal inadequacy as a complete solution. The church is to be the dynamo rather than the engineer in social advance. The primary message of the church is to the individual. But what is that message, if it be Christian? It is, as Washington Gladden puts it, "that he is not, in strictness, an individual, any more than a hand or an ear or an eye is an individual; that he derives all that is highest and most essential in his life from the

life of humanity, to which he is vitally and organically related. . . . The doom from which Christianity seeks to save the individual is the doom of moral individualism."

Individualism of any sort is in ill-repute to-day, with none so poor to do it reverence. But in all fairness one must recognize that much of the excessive individualism of the past, the almost exclusive interest in the salvation of one's individual soul, effected a social service of incalculable importance.

The social order of the past, whether ecclesiastical or political or industrial, was largely organized social tyranny. The highest social duty of men was to break it. Christianity performed a supremely important social service when it inspired men to break it by nourishing a sense of individual worth. When a man conceived of himself as a child of God he was not long content to be a chattel of men. The day of emancipation dawned when men thought they were important enough for God to damn them singly rather than in the mass! Before that spiritual equality, the only genuine democracy, political caste crumbled. Priestly prerogative withered when a man was accountable to God. From economic status to contract the spiritual freeman moved in industrial progress. The first step toward making men servants in the kingdom of God was that of making them freemen in the fellowship of men.

That spiritual individualism is basic in enduring social reform. One cannot insist that the social ideal is always the friend of the kingdom of God and the individualistic ideal is always its foe. The social gospel of Prussia is not that of Christ. Professor Rauschenbusch—Christian hero and pioneer—says in his "Christianity and the Social Crisis":—

"As the eternal life came to the front in Christian hope, the kingdom of God receded to the background. The kingdom of God was a collective hope. The eternal life was an individualistic hope."

True, but without the sense of eternal life no kingdom of God can be built. That sense of personal worth may degenerate into spiritual aloofness and self-sufficiency to-day as with the Pharisee of old. But if it disappears, social order means social tyranny, and democracy becomes the domination of the mob. Jesus put the full-orbed ideal before us in a matchless sentence: "For their sakes I sanctify myself." "For their sakes"—the social gospel is all there. No personal worth or spiritual serenity

or reposeful trust or interior enrichment is noble except as equipment for service. But no service can flow abundantly, continuously, and fruitfully except one sanctifies the privacies of his soul.

One fundamental of social reform is, then, a sense of the spiritual worth of human personality—that men are children of God. The other is a purpose to organize society on the principle of "service first."

Can this be done? It is being done. The seeming impossibility is actually happening before our very eyes. A great and enlarging section of the modern business world is definitely brought under the jurisdiction of the motive of service, not merely by the public spirit of its owners and managers, but by the law of the State. I refer to the public service corporations. The Commonwealth frankly says to a railroad or a gas company, or a telephone company, in the terms of its charters and in the rulings of the courts: You are chartered primarily to perform a public service, not primarily to make money. You are entitled to payment for that service. The better service you render, the larger payment you have a right to receive. But you cannot exploit the community for profit. It is the people's money and you must return it to them in better service or lower rates. This is the economic principle on which this section of the industrial world is organized. It is more, however, than a principle of economics. It is a principle of Christianity wrought into a great section of the social order. A corporation may violate this principle of service. But this is the significant fact. Formerly it might commit this immoral act without committing an illegal act. Now to break the law of brotherhood is to break the law of the statute book. It is not only a sin against the law of God; it is a crime against the law of the land. This fragment of the social order is organized on the principle of mutual service—and it works.

This principle is also extending into the field of private business. I am not concerned with questions of the economic forms under which business will be carried on. I am concerned with the law that shall govern its operations. The State says: You shall not employ a child under fourteen years in any form of mercantile or industrial labor. You shall not employ a child under sixteen more than eight hours a day. So declares the letter of the law. The spirit says, You are in business, primarily, to serve. The community is not served when children

are exploited for gain, and when the making of goods means the unmaking of men.

The State says: You must make compensation for the injury of workmen a charge against the industry that injures them. The wear and tear of the men is as truly a cost of the business as the depreciation of the plant. So says the law. What it really says is: Your business is to serve the community. The community is not served when the injured worker can recover damages only after costly litigation and may suffer loss through no individual fault.

The State very soon will say to a labor union, You shall not order a strike until some impartial commission shall have investigated the controversy and publicly stated the facts. That is, the State will say: You are organized to serve the public. The public is not served when industrial disputes are settled by private war.

And what will end public war when this war ends but the acceptance of that principle as the basis of a new internationalism? One of these days the guns will be silent and the fortunes of mankind will be entrusted to a group of statesmen about a table. What ideal will guide them? Reparation will be determined. Boundaries will be changed in an effort to respect racial unities and national existences. But will that be all? Will the nations remain as potential foes, each the sole guardian of its alleged interest? Will peace be but the ticklish balance of power? Will each nation be an ultimate social unit, with no larger loyalty to whose peace and prosperity it owes allegiance? Will international co-operation be pushed aside as impracticable and the United States of the World seem but a mirage in the desert? God forbid that universal stupidity be thus added to a whirlwind of brutality! A new Germany, or a successor yet undreamed of, would some day attempt what all were dreading and inviting. Enduring peace can never come until no nation has opportunity to try what Germany tried, until no nation can gain its place in the sun by putting others in the shadow of its domination.

Who shall say that this principle of co-operation will not work? It is the only principle that will work. That ought to be apparent to the dumbest mind. A movement of prodigious sweep and significance is going on in America to-day. Under the compulsion of a great crisis the nation is reorganizing its domestic, industrial, economic, as well as military institutions on the principle of

service first. Superficially, it is a matter of food conservation, government control of railways, mobilizing of machine-shops and shipyards, and universal liability to military service. But really what is happening is the discovery that in a great crisis Christ's basic law of service is the only law that will work. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be added unto you"—how we have assented to that doctrine as a theory applicable only to some Utopia! Suddenly we have awakened to the fact that our material salvation depends on its adoption. Christ no longer is a dreamer whom we patronize. He is the national savior. If we are to have bread to eat, raiment to wear, homes to live in, ships to sail, arms to bear, if we are to possess these "things" to which Jesus refers, we must seek first, not these things, but the common good. That is what Congress is saying in legislative enactments. That is what the President is saying in his decrees concerning fuel conservation. The nation cannot live in this world-crisis save as it organizes its resources on the principle of service first. The law of Christ is the law of the moral universe.

To recognize that truth is fundamental to enduring social reform. The futility of all reforms based on greed or envy or domination is assured, whether the defect be the arrogance of the privileged or the envy of the dispossessed. The certain triumph of all reforms based on justice and brotherly love is decreed, however the day of victory may halt. A new day is coming with the resistless sweep of a tidal wave. We may direct it; we cannot stop it. The kingdom of God is from without as well as from within. God works not only in the conscious purposes of men, but in the tidal-sweep of mighty spiritual forces, culminating in epochal social crises. As in an hour when no man knoweth an old world dies and a new world is ushered in. We are in the grip of one of those movements. The kingdom of God is at hand! Manifest destiny is behind its appearing. Our task is not so much to hasten it as to make ourselves ready for its coming. Are we ourselves wise enough and large enough and serviceable and devoted enough to be its servants?

II. SOME LABOR PROBLEMS.

HENRY STERLING, OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE MASSACHUSETTS FEDERATION OF LABOR.

For centuries, two parallel forces have worked for the same end, righteousness, yet without apparent relation to each other; with but little knowledge and still less of sympathy with each other. Even the mention of the Church of God and the labor union as parallel forces working to the same end is a shock to some of you. Working for righteousness—absolutely no other end in view by either of the two organizations. And yet one of the organizations thinks of the other as lawless, grasping, selfish, utterly disregarding the rights and convenience of the public at large, and the other thinks of the one in some such way as Christ characterized the Pharisee.

What is the Church doing? I turn from what it is doing for the individual. I am speaking only of its broader, economic, industrial, or social aspects—what is the Church doing to-day? It is preaching the absolute ultimate of righteousness, emphasizing it, explaining it, making it clear: "And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Further than that in social righteousness it is impossible to go.

And what is the labor union doing? Bringing men together, inducing them to co-operate on this righteous basis. There is social unrighteousness, social injustice, and we want to abolish it. The two aims are identical. The Church preaches the doctrine, and the labor union goes into the workshop and attempts to apply it between man and man, and between employer and employee.

In the economic, industrial, political world, the two movements are running absolutely parallel, working to the same end, preaching and teaching and applying the same doctrine. If you feel that among the labor unions other doctrines or other practices are applied, I urge you in all candor, first to be sure of your ground, and then to remember that human nature in its most honest efforts is blind, short-sighted, and often mistaken; and to remember that the other movement feels concerning the Church that there are faults and failings and shortcomings there also. Each should be careful not to misjudge the other.

"Some problems of labor"? Well, of course, to-day, the most immediate, the most urgent of all problems is to

stretch the wage enough to buy food, shelter, and clothing. That is the one particular problem of to-day: not that it is a new problem—it is the same old problem that has pressed upon humanity since the beginning of time.

Of late we have been somewhat appalled about the increases of wages and wondered where they would end; but it would be difficult to show that wages have increased as much as the cost of the necessities of life. I think you and every housewife in the land would agree, and that the official figures would support the belief, that the cost of living has at least doubled, probably has increased 150 per cent. Yet few increases of wages amount to 25 per cent. Occasionally the increase has amounted to 50 per cent., but many classes have had no increase whatever. To my best judgment wages are to-day lower, when considered in relation to the cost of living, than they ever have been within my recollection.

There has been some criticism about strikes at this particular time. There has been some feeling that strikes ought to be repressed. But, in view of the constantly increasing cost of living, and the constant refusals to increase wages proportionately,—for that is the case,—what recourse has the laboring man? The week's wages will not meet his needs under the higher cost of living. When he asks for more he is dismissed. If he represents a labor union he is told: "We don't recognize unions. We won't converse with you; we won't talk it over."

When you are confronted by a dilemma like that, what recourse have you?

Well, ask for an investigation. But it took nearly ten years of earnest, hard work to put into the law a right for the labor men to demand and enforce an investigation. Sometimes we hear it said in criticism of labor unions that they want what they want when they want it and they don't want any talk about it. Yet it took all these years of effort to get for both employer and employee the legal right to demand an investigation, and let the public know whether the man or his employer was to blame. Now either side can insist upon a public investigation that shall expose all the facts under oath, and many strikes, and a few lockouts, have been settled or avoided because when the facts began to come out an adjustment was reached. They who talk about repressing strikes entirely would take from the laboring people their only weapon of offence and defence against injustice.

In 1915, a year after the war was under way, in our

manufacturing and similar industries in Massachusetts, 485,000 adult males worked, and 285,000 adult males who had, or should have, families dependent upon them were working for \$14 per week or less, and of that number 150,000 were working for \$10 a week or less. Is that an injustice? Is it unfair?

Now in dealing with this question of social righteousness the union says that it is fundamental for right living that men should have more money, a greater return for their employment. Of course, the Church keeps on preaching the doctrine and preaching the truth, but it takes no note of whether these 150,000 adult males working for \$10 a week or less are receiving any application of that righteous doctrine. But the labor union says, "It is not fair; it is not right; it is an injustice which we must use every effort to abolish," and so far as they know, just so far they go in the effort to establish a fairer, more righteous system.

Are they doing right? The only weapon they have is the strike, or the threat to strike. I am not telling quite the truth about that; they have the ballot, and with the ballot the laboring man could rectify every social injustice if he knew how. If he knew how to use the ballot for his own benefit or for the benefit of social righteousness, all injustice could be wiped out in a year. But how so to use his ballot he does not know, and he waits with listening ear for the Church to tell him how; but whenever it begins to tell, it only advocates some form of repression. This side, utterly ignoring the fact that injustice prevails, utterly ignoring the fact that wage are inequitably low, when the workman uses his only efforts to readjust them, says, "You are disturbing the community." Why should he not disturb the community? We hear a lot of nonsense in newspapers, and some in public talk, about an "innocent third party," to wit, the general public, which suffers from strikes. But I say to you, the only criminal in the whole transaction is the so-called innocent third party, which establishes, maintains, and permits unrighteous conditions. That is true, and it always has been true. We had an illustration of that truth when slavery was abolished. We thought the slave-holder was the wicked transgressor, but God in his providence visited his judgment and his punishment in the abolition of slavery not only upon the South but upon the North, and upon every part of the civilized world. And if unrighteousness exists to-day in our industrial

relations, if men are receiving unjustly a lower wage than that on which they can live, it is not the man who protests with the only weapon that he has that you should blame; it is not the employer that you should blame,—he is generally doing the best he can.—I repeat that, because it comes from a labor unionist of some standing and of long, long membership,—the employer is generally doing the best he can,—not always, but generally. Neither the employer nor the employee is to blame for industrial upheavals; but you and they, and all who permit social, industrial, or economic unrighteousness to continue; and, rather than be troubled, rather than examine your own conscience, rather than know where the blame lies, you would suppress him, you would drive him back to his job. Don't disturb this "innocent" party.

I have heard scientists speak about the life history of a bug or bird, or any other thing that has life. I want to call your attention to the life history of a laboring man. Born in squalor, of a long heritage of illiteracy, in a tenement, or other poverty-stricken home; born of a parentage that knows nothing of, and cares nothing for, literature, or art, or any of the refinements of life; born into an environment where from the cradle to the grave these millions never meet on equal terms men or women of education, of refinement; in these latter days accorded the blessing of an education in the common school up to fourteen years of age and through the fourth grade, and then leaving for a manual employment—a manual employment of monotony,—over and over again the same task, for ten, twenty, thirty, forty years. At the accepted time, marriage; some children; every dollar that it is possible to get together needed just to meet animal necessities. Then through the children, a repetition of the same story.

Until a more righteous industrial and economic condition is established we shall have the same disturbing conditions we have always had and are having now, over and over again.

III. THE ABATEMENT AND ABOLITION OF POVERTY.

PROF. THOMAS N. CARVER, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

I think that I can say in advance that there is nothing to be said on this subject which will appeal to the self-interest of any one present. It probably is to the financial advantage of every one here to have poverty; that is, to have a considerable mass of cheap labor. It makes our salaries go further, enables us to live a little better than we could live if there were not any cheap labor.

By poverty I mean something different from dependence. There are people who are dependent through physical disability or various other reasons and must always be taken care of. But that is not poverty in the sense in which we ordinarily discuss it. Poverty is merely the lack of sufficient income on the part of normal people capable of doing good work—lack of sufficient income on the part of such people to live according to a standard which we think suitable for an American citizen. That is what I mean by poverty, the condition of that mass of people whose normal incomes are too low,—they have to sell their labor at too low a price; but that is very profitable to most of us. I cannot appeal, then, to you on the ground of your own self-interest to help in the abolition of poverty. I must appeal to you on the basis of your higher sentiments; and if you cannot be appealed to in that way, why, what I shall say will have no effect.

The reason it is profitable to you—most of you—I don't know of any exceptions, although there may be some—to have a considerable mass of cheap labor is simply that this cheap labor does not compete with you; it fits in with your labor. We have in economics what we call non-competing groups. The man who supplies one kind of labor does not compete necessarily with another man who supplies an entirely different kind which has to be united with his in the production of a given product. For example, the baker does not compete with the farmer, but rather the baker's efforts have to be co-ordinated with the efforts of the wheat-grower in order to make bread. Now the more farmers there are growing wheat the better it is for each baker; he can get cheaper flour. Neither do the bakers nor the farmers compete directly with the millers. The more millers there are the better it is for both the bakers and the farmers. The problem is to secure the proper balancing up of these

different classes, these different groups of workers, so that there may not be too much of one to fit in and to balance up the existing supply of the other in a well-balanced nation. But whenever there is that lack of balance, too many farmers growing wheat, that is very good for the other people who do not grow wheat, but it is bad for the farmers. Too few people growing wheat—that is rather good for the farmers, but rather bad for those who have to depend on the farmers.

Suppose there was a sharp gap between weavers and spinners in our textile mills so that a man could not change very well from one occupation to the other. Suppose you had too many spinners and not enough weavers to balance them up, the over-supplied group would not have very regular employment. They would be unemployed men in that group; you could not use them all. The under-supplied group would be very well off; they would have an easy time of it. A good share of the value of the cloth would go to the group that was under-supplied.

This brings this question of poverty under the broadest, the greatest, the most universal of all economic laws. It is much broader and deeper than most of us economists have ever dreamed that it was. It is the same principle exactly that applies to a balanced ration for a human being, a balanced ration for a steer, or a balanced fertilizer for soil. We need a balanced population in our republic, just as much as a steer needs a balanced ration or a plant needs balanced fertilizers. And if that balance is thrown out so there is too much nitrogen in the soil and not enough potash, then that nitrogen becomes relatively unproductive. That is, the formula "More nitrogen, more crop" would not apply.

There is, as a matter of fact, too much nitrogen in some of our peat soils and not enough potash. Go to the farmer who owns the peaty soil and try to sell him nitrogen; he doesn't want it. Why? "More nitrogen, more crop"? No, that formula for him does not work. "More potash, more crop." Yes, he will buy potash.

Well, now, the same principle applies to the protein and starch in the diet, and also to one kind of labor and another kind of labor in the production of any article. When there is too much of one kind and not enough of the other kind, the one that is over-supplied is cheap—it has to be; you do not need any more of it. More of that kind of labor, more product? No. You cannot increase

your product by bringing a hundred or a thousand more of that kind of men, with that kind of skill, into the community; but bring a few of the other kind, the kind that is under-supplied, and you will get more product. This does not depend upon psychology, or attitude of mind, or way of thinking, or upon legislation, or any such trivialities. It is deeper than all society and all social organization. Don't imagine that you can get at this by any direct legislation, or that you can repeal it any more than you can repeal Gresham's law.

We have heard about an Act of Congress that said in so many words that labor is not a commodity. Well, I don't know what you mean by a commodity. It is something that is bought and sold and has its price, and some of the laws of value and price apply to it. Laborers are well off when their labor sells at a good price, or high wages. When they get good wages there is no poverty. When they have to sell their labor at a low price or low wages, then there is poverty.

The reason we have not abolished poverty up to this day is not because it cannot be done; it is because we have not sufficiently wanted to, or else because we have not understood how to go about it. It is too profitable to us to have poverty; that is, those of us who are not in that situation ourselves.

Oh, I know we are all anxious to do something for labor. Yes, I know lots of people who are anxious to do anything for labor except that which will do something for labor. We are willing to talk about it, and express grave sympathy, and tell the laboring man, "You have my most distinguished consideration"; but we don't do anything, and you cannot do much that is fundamental until we create conditions on the labor market which make all wages high. You can doctor things up a little, tinker around, improve his bargaining capacity and this way and that, but until you can get a balanced national population there will be poverty to the end of time. You cannot make anything else out of it.

If we have got an unbalanced population, too many people capable of doing unskilled work and not enough people capable of doing the work that is necessary to combine with unskilled work, we cannot accomplish much. I heard the story two or three summers ago about the Pittsburgh glass manufacturer who was planning to enlarge his business and put in a new department which would have employed two or three hundred men, but he

found before he could do that that he would have to get a couple of very highly trained specialists. He ransacked the country to find them, went abroad to find them, did not succeed in getting them to come. He offered \$22,000 a year salary to each of those men; he could not get them. The result was, he did not put in that new department and did not give employment to two or three hundred additional men. It is the old case of the potash and the nitrogen in the soil—too much of one and not enough of the other to balance it up and make it effective.

Well, what have we got to do? Why, obviously, redistribute our talent so as to get a balanced population; that is all.

But there are many other things. That gets pretty nearly to the root of the whole difficulty. I have no objection to all these other programs—they are good as far as they go. But we really do not get at the root of the matter until we accomplish something in this direction.

What is an educational system or what is our public school system for except to redistribute people occupationally? Suppose you found that there were too many people congregated in one spot, say the East Side of New York, and then there are too few somewhere else, and you go to these people in this one spot where there seemed to be too many and say, "It is impossible that there should be too much labor in the world; labor produces everything." What is the use of that sort of sublime idiocy when there is no work in the spot where they happen to be? You may have to move them to the next block, or the next town, or possibly the next continent. That is, you have to redistribute people geographically, to geometrically sometimes, and it does not do any good to these men on the East Side of New York to say, "We have plenty of work; there can't be by any possibility too much labor." Well, perhaps not in the world at large, but there can be too much in one spot. That is fairly evident, isn't it, or do I need to argue that? Suppose he is a farm laborer. He is on the East Side of New York and you say, "Labor produces everything; now produce something." What can a farm laborer do on the East Side of New York? If he went to Texas he might produce something, but you have got to get him there.

This geographical distribution is very important, but it is not the most important thing. The occupational

redistribution of the labor supply is the most important; that is, to distribute them occupationally as well as geographically. Get them out of those occupations where there are too many and get them into those occupations where there are too few. For that is a possibility likewise. There might be more spinners than could be employed in conjunction with a given supply of weavers, or vice versa. There may be too many glass-blowers to combine satisfactorily with a very small number of highly trained technicians. If you could get a few more of those technicians, then you could expand the opportunities for the glass-blowers. That is what I mean. True, the glass-blowers and the steam-fitters and other skilled laborers are not generally the people who are suffering from poverty; generally the unskilled workers are in that position.

Could not a popular educational system, particularly if it be wisely designed with some vocational guidance, get people headed toward those occupations where men seem to be needed, and out of those occupations where there seems to be more than can get employment at satisfactory wages? That is good as far as it goes. I don't know of any justification for a public educational system except that,—to redistribute our supply of talent occupationally. There is no theory of education, in my opinion, worth the paper on which it is printed that does not involve just that question of the occupational redistribution of the labor supply, training people for those kinds of work on which there is a scarcity of men. That merely means that it is training men to do the thing that society needs done. On the west gate of the Harvard yard there is an inscription that is taken from an old account of the first settlement in New England:—

“After God had carried us safely to New England”—

We all know it here in Boston, of course, but it winds up:—

“Dreading to leave an illiterate ministry on our churches when our present ministry shall lie in the dust.”

That contains the correct theory of education, as I understand it. That is, they did not express any dread lest some young men should fail to get the most out of life, or fail to acquire expensive habits, or fail to learn how to spend elegant leisure or consume gracefully; they dreaded

lest a social need should not be filled. They may have been mistaken in their diagnosis; perhaps an unbeliever might say that there wasn't any need for ministers, but the founders of Harvard thought there was, and they went to work and founded an institution to supply that need,—to train men for positions where they thought there was going to be a scarcity. Well, that is in line with all sound educational theories.

Anything we can do to redistribute our present population occupationally, either by our educational system or any other way, will tend to make one occupation pay about as well as another. When there are as many men who can run a bank as there are who can dig a ditch, why, possibly a ditch-digger will get as much money as a banker, with some difference owing to the length of time it takes to acquire the skill. The banker ought to be compensated for that or it would not be equality. When it is as easy to go out in the country and pick up a man who can teach economics as it is to go out and pick up a man who can dig a sewer, one will get about as much as the other, barring the small difference of the cost of training. The cost, of course, has to be taken into account.

If we go on educating our people out of the unskilled and into the highly skilled occupations, that will help; but suppose while we are doing that we keep importing another mass of poverty all the time, bringing them in faster than we can train them up,—if we do that, we shall have a mass of poverty all the time, but it will be made up of changing individuals, like the water in a reservoir. The reservoir is there though the water changes. You keep the permanent over-supply of cheap labor by that process. We may find a remedy if we go on with our popular education and improve it occupationally and then cut off somewhat from this new supply by restricting immigration.

Don't be deceived by any of these people who talk to you about Mr. Agassiz and other people who may have immigrated to this country and who have done us good. I never would have classified Mr. Agassiz as an illiterate, and a literacy test does not shut out such men. I am not a very patient man, and it is hard for me to keep still when I hear that sort of nonsense talked. The idea that a literacy test is going to shut out some future Agassiz or any man of his kind is too absurd to contemplate. It may be true that some illiterates are better

than some literates, but I do not think they average so well, and we have to deal with averages. The illiterates are more largely unskilled than are the literates. It may not be the best way of reducing the supply of unskilled cheap labor, but then it is one way.

Then again, we have not only immigration from Europe, but there is the immigration from heaven, and so far as the labor supply is concerned and the price of labor, it amounts to about the same thing. So long as we have people who spawn instead of building families, and people who justify that sort of thing, I suppose there will be a large immigration from heaven into the classes of the unskilled, and that will help to keep the permanent mass of over-supplied cheap labor at low wages. That will be very profitable to us, but not very profitable to them. We who profit by it, of course, may find that our moral sense is shocked if anybody suggests that ignorant and unskilled people ought not to have such large families. Foxes, you know, approve of large families among rabbits; that makes it easier for foxes to get a living. So there are certain classes who approve of large families among the very poor. The military adventurer, and other people, sometimes an employer of labor, might take that same attitude. It makes for him a large supply of cheap labor. So long as it is possible to hang out a shingle and say "Men Wanted" and have two men apply for every job, we shall have poverty. When we reverse the process and can have the workingman advertise and have two employers come after him, we will not need any more social legislation. He will take care of himself; he will dictate his own terms; and that will come pretty nearly eliminating poverty.

IV. THE PRESENT STATE OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD.

MRS. WILLIAM TILTON, OF THE COMMITTEE OF SIXTY
ON NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

Every now and then the human race rises up and throws off an old custom, human sacrifice, idolatry, slavery. It took the Israelites all of four hundred years to push idolatry into the limbo of the past. It would surge back and forth (800-400 B.C.), till finally in Proverbs (300 B.C.) they inveigh against it no more, for evidently it is dead.

Now the white race is trying to throw off another age-long custom, alcohol. This movement is only about a hundred years old. It began in the United States about 1825. The first movement was against distilled liquor only, but, not making headway this way, they finally came to making war on the "teetotal whole," and then drink consumption began to fall. It fell faster when they began to supplement total abstinence education with prohibition of sale. Between 1835 and 1850 vast areas of the country went dry and our drink consumption broke in halves.

But the Civil War, diverting the energy to slavery, sapped the Prohibition movement. After the war, crime statistics rose and in the general moral relaxation that follows war, moderation became the ideal, use but not abuse, and under this ideal our drink consumption rose almost steadily till 1907, when another Total Abstinence-Prohibition wave began, forced on the world from the laboratories of Europe, where careful experiments showed that alcohol was not a life-giver but a life-destroyer, even when taken moderately. Under this movement,—a total abstinence crusade, supplemented by an ever-widening dry area (twenty-seven States are now "dry"),—our drink consumption is declining. As Congress has just submitted (Dec. 17, 1917), a constitutional amendment for permanent prohibition of the manufacture, sale, and importation of all alcohol for beverage purposes, all signs point now to the probability that this second great Temperance wave will land us in a Dry Nation.

GERMANY.

The Early Total-Abstinence wave of the United States passed, at the request of the King of Prussia, to Germany. It was led there by the aristocrats, and for a time made

great headway. But in the Liberal movement of 1848 this aristocratic movement was lost and little left of it but a feeling among the upper and middle classes that it was rather bad form to drink distilled liquor. Beer was the thing. From then on beer consumption rose enormously while distilled liquor declined but little. During the nineties, the scientific laboratory movement against alcohol set the Germans thinking: thoughtful Germans declared that Germany was becoming brutalized and diseased from over-beer-drinking. (In Munich six to ten quarts a day was considered moderate, and at the Pathological Institute it was found that one out of every sixteen males was dying of beer drinker's heart.)

From all these causes, a wide educational campaign has been instituted. *Vorwärts*, the organ of the Social Democrats, demands nothing short of complete abstinence, and Germany's consumption is beginning to fall.

Since the war, her beer output has been reduced to 25 per cent. of what it was (except in Bavaria, where it is 35 per cent.). And since last March Austria has ceased brewing.

NORWAY, FINLAND, SWEDEN.

Norway, Finland, and Sweden are the three countries that have made the most headway against drink in the nineteenth century. They have steadily made headway. Finland has the lowest consumption and Norway the next lowest. They sent over a delegation in the '40s to America to study our movement, and copied it, and straight through their ideal has been practically total abstinence, followed, as fast as the sentiment ripened, by prohibition. For fifty years, from 70 to 80 per cent. of the people of Norway, Finland, and Sweden have really been under dry territory, and behind that prohibition has been organized total abstinence, the most splendid system, organizing everybody into total abstinence bands. As soon as the boy in the Finnish high school becomes fourteen or fifteen he becomes an organized abstainer, joining one of these societies. Thus they have made headway by organized total abstinence plus prohibition.

Sweden has now prohibited the manufacture of its great drink, brandy, as a war measure, and Norway has not only done this, but she has also given local option as to cutting out beer and wine, and at times has been under real prohibition. For six weeks she has been under real prohibition and then she has let beer come back.

Then she has tried it again as a conservation measure. All these nations are going dry, and Finland is dry now. It is a working-class movement in these countries, contested by the aristocrats.

RUSSIA.

In Russia, for thirty years there had been a tremendous agitation, and when the war came, the working-people demanded the closing of the vodka shops, the heavy liquor shops owned by the government. They were closed, but it was not effective enough, and the people demanded that beer and wine should be cut off. The government gave them local option on that question; they could cut it off, or not, as they pleased. Practically 90 per cent. cut it off. So Russia has been practically dry of distilled liquors and has cut off 90 per cent. of beer and wines. The provisional government, the last strong government that Russia had, if you can call it so, before the present difficulty, came out and said, "Prohibition of distilled liquor, wine, and beer!"

CANADA.

Canada has gone dry during the war. Quebec has at last gone dry. It was the Catholics there who led the movement, not the Protestants. So Canada now is practically dry for the period of the war. We see that the efficiency that was needed for the war has really brought two great countries, Canada and Russia, under prohibition.

FRANCE.

France has been the most alcoholized of all the countries. First she was a wine-drinker, but the commonness of wine led her to heavy liquors, as she grew richer, and absinthe became the popular drink. She has the largest liquor consumption of any country. Ours is six quarts of pure alcohol per annum per capita. Germany's is about seven quarts, England's nine quarts, but that of France is twenty-two quarts per annum per capita—really litres, but a litre is just about a quart. What France has done is simply permanently to prohibit absinthe, and she has made an effort to get rid of distilled liquors; but almost no effort to get rid of her wine or her beer or her cider, all of which are intoxicating. She has not made headway well, because in France nearly one-

half of the adult male population has some direct interest in the liquor business. And so, though the people of France understand that she is dying (her death-rate being greater than her birth-rate), and though there is a noble agitation there for temperance, still you cannot get her legislators to move, because they want to be re-elected, and they cannot be re-elected if they interfere with the wine and liquor business.

ENGLAND.

The anti-alcohol movement has been scandalously slow in England because of the "money in it." The Peerage is really a "Beerage," they say, owing to the intermarrying of peers with brewers' fortunes, and though the House of Commons has made noble efforts the House of Lords has always rejected them. Since the war there has been a very real movement for Prohibition, but the trade, according to Lloyd George, has been two powerful. Brewing has, however, been reduced to about one-quarter of its former proportion. And the agitation goes on for War Prohibition.

SUMMARY.

With the exception of France, the prominent nations of Europe show a slightly declining drink consumption (up to 1914) as do Canada and the United States. It is probable that the United States will become in the next few years a Dry Nation—thus leading the way towards the World Prohibition which is plainly dawning on the horizon.

If Prohibition establishes itself during the war over wide areas, it will probably come to stay. If we wait till after the war, it may be that a nervously prostrated white race will be unable for long years to rouse itself to any reform. Certain it is, however, that the Drink Custom is doomed sooner or later.

V. THE PRESENT STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF THE COLORED RACE IN THE UNITED STATES.

REV. WILLIAM N. DE BERRY, D.D., MINISTER ST. JOHN'S CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

I am very grateful for the privilege of talking to you for these few minutes on a subject of such absorbing interest to me personally as "The Status and Prospects of the Colored Race in the United States." Not because I have to show what is a very glowing picture of that status as I see it now in this country, for I am afraid that what I have to say will not be considered of an optimistic color. Yet at the risk of being considered pessimistic I am going to give you this afternoon what I believe to be the truth.

The present status of the Negro in this country as a free man can be intelligently and sympathetically viewed only in the light of his past status as a slave. For more than two hundred and fifty years American slavery, the curse of your race and mine, held us in degrading bondage, and let us go at least empty-handed, and we have had just about fifty years to make up for two hundred and fifty, and that at a serious disadvantage.

Let us first consider the present economic status of the Negro. In spite of the fact that during the fifty years of our freedom our material progress has been most marvellous under the conditions; in spite of the fact that we came out of bondage empty-handed, and possess to-day real estate the value of which is conservatively estimated at more than a billion of dollars, the great majority of the people are poor, and very poor indeed. One needs only to travel in the rural districts of the Southland, where live fully 80 per cent. of all the Negroes in the country, to be convinced of this depressing fact. Because of their poverty thousands of them are still hopelessly bound by an infamous system of peonage, a veritable second slavery, from which, as the late Booker Washington was accustomed to say, "There is no escape except by death or the penitentiary." But in the cities as well as in the rural districts, the Negroes compose a very large proportion of the poverty-stricken class.

This explains in part the great exodus of the colored people from the South in the past two years. It is estimated that fully three hundred thousand of them have moved northward within this period. And what was the

direct occasion of it? The European war. One of the first drafts made on the United States by this world tragedy was a draft on its labor supply. Thousands of the foreigners who had been the chief dependence of many industries here in the North as common laborers answered the call of their countries to arms and left these industries helpless and paralyzed for lack of laborers. It was then that agents were sent to the South to secure Negro laborers, with such glowing inducements as better wages, better treatment, better school opportunities for their children, and better social and political privileges. The response of the Negroes was immediate and tumultuous. In many cases whole communities left en masse; and while the tide has diminished somewhat in volume, it continues still; they are still coming in great numbers. The exodus has been accompanied by two very hopeful incidents from the black man's point of view: first, the protest of the white South, and its offer of better treatment of those who remained if they would only continue to remain; and, secondly, the opening of new avenues of industry here in the North to colored laborers. Only those of us who have lived there and know by experience the bitterness of the Negro's lot in the South, and only those of us who have lived here and know by experience again how firmly the door of industrial opportunity has been closed to him in the North, can appreciate the tremendous significance of these two facts which have developed simultaneously and almost within a day. All this when considered together with the fact of the inevitable salutary results of relieving of the congestion of the Negro population in the South and giving it a more equitable distribution throughout the country—all this, I say, must augur hopefully and well for the economic future of the race on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line.

Just a word about the social status of the Negro. One of the most discouraging features of the present status of the colored man in the country is the prejudice which he encounters from other races. At every step of our progress as a people we must meet and contend with this grim-visaged monster. Of all the prejudices of which the human heart is capable there is none so unreasonable nor so unjust as that of which my race is to-day the helpless victim. First, it is a prejudice which denies to him social equality and segregates him, to his great inconvenience and injury. Just what does the black man

want socially, anyhow? The thoughtful, self-respecting Negro is not clamoring for social equality with any people to whom he is socially offensive. While he recognizes that there is no wrong in his social intercourse with good people of any nationality, yet his own self-respect will not allow him to intrude socially on individuals or private circles. But he does ask that, if there be in this country a white man who has enough of the spirit of brotherliness in his heart to invite a black man to sit at his table, the white man may have the freedom to break bread with his black friend without being put under the ban of social proscription among his own people. He begs in this connection also that there be no confusion of civil rights on the one hand and social privileges on the other. Herein, it seems to me, lies the chief ground of grievance on the part of the black man against the white South to-day. And I shall not confine it to the South, because it spreads beyond the territory which that term designates. The confusion of social privileges and civil rights is the cause of grave injustice to us. Because of the bugbear of social equality the black man has been shorn of many of his civil rights. On account of this unwarranted fear he is made to ride in "Jim Crow" cars when he has paid first-class fare. I think my people are not objecting so much to the separation involved as to the inconvenience and the injustice of it. Let me illustrate. The black man is made to pay first-class fare and given third-rate accommodations. We argue that it is unfair to charge first-class fare and then compel us to endure all the humiliation, the inconvenience, and the injustice of Jim-Crowism. Either reduce the fare or give us equal accommodations. We are not clamoring to be with people to whom we are objectionable, any more than they desire to be apart from us. But we do insist that taxation without representation is as unjust to-day as it was a hundred years ago; that if we are made to pay taxes for the maintenance of public institutions we ought to have the privilege of using them. This includes parks, libraries, and other institutions for the promotion of the public welfare from which we are often debarred. The Jim Crow car is a good institution if properly used. We should not object to the Jim Crow car as an institution, if they would but compel all "Jim Crow" people to ride in the Jim Crow cars regardless of color--for all "Jim Crow" people are not black. But it is not so ordered.

I remember going South some time ago to make a little

study of conditions in the Black Belt among my own people. I rode from my home in Springfield to Washington in a first-class car, an ordinary day coach, without giving offence. I was not molested. But on going from Washington towards the South I was told that I would find my car at the forward end. "Why may I not occupy a seat here in this car?" I asked. "The laws of Virginia forbid Negroes and whites from riding in the same cars." "Is that the law?" I answered. "If it is the law I will obey it, because I try to obey the laws of the land." I took my luggage and made my way to the Jim Crow car at the forward end and rode under very undesirable conditions from Washington to Richmond, Va. I went out into Main Street in Richmond and stopped a trolley-car to go out to one of our colored colleges in the suburbs of Richmond. The conductor said, "You will find your seat at the rear end of the car." "Why may I not occupy this seat at the forward end?" I asked. "The laws of Richmond prohibit Negroes and white people from occupying the same seat in trolley-cars." "Is that the law?" I asked. "If it is the law I will obey it." I took my luggage again and went to the rear and sat in the smokers' seat and rode out to Hartshorne Memorial College. There was at least the spice of variety in the two incidents, for on one occasion I was ushered forward, and on the other backward. Was I thus Jim-Crowed on account of my color? No. I recall that a number of years ago when working my way through college I was a Pullman porter and as such rode through Virginia then in a palace car. It was not because I was black, therefore, that I was sent to the Jim Crow car,—because I don't think I have changed color very much in these years,—but it was because I undertook to ride on a railway train on my own responsibility as a passenger, and that would have been social equality. Therefore my civil right to my money's worth was taken away from me on the score of social equality.

The black man is not asking for indiscriminate social equality with any people to whom he is socially offensive, but for a chance to enjoy the public privileges and benefits which are his by reason of his citizenship.

One other side of this matter, the political status of the black man. That is not very encouraging either, friends, I am very sorry to tell you. As citizens of this country we find ourselves in an unfortunate, anomalous, political situation. Constituting well-nigh one-tenth of the total

population, and our welfare as a people in constant peril, we do not have and are not allowed to have a single representative in the National Congress to advocate our cause or to protect our interests. This anomalous political situation is made possible by the ruthless, unlawful shearing of the Negro's right to manhood suffrage. It is contended as a reason for the wholesale disfranchisement of the race that there is a danger of the Negro accomplishing his cherished purpose of getting the reins of government in his hands and there will be a recurrence of the old "Carpet Bag" era about which so much has been said. I am not going into the evils of the Reconstruction Period at this time, but I am here simply to say that we are asking not for the chance to hold the reins of government, only as we are capable of holding such reins and as it is our right as citizens to do so: I am here to plead that every man in this country who is loyal to the flag and obedient to the law have the right to vote a vote that shall be counted; that he have a voice in the government of himself in this government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

Again, it is a prejudice that denies to us a man's chance in the race of life. A man's chance, no more and no less, is all we ask of our more favored Anglo-Saxon brethren. If we are to remain in this country and be a wholesome element in the body politic, we must of necessity have such a chance. But if, as some would have it, God has created the souls of black folk to grope forever within the veil—if he has fixed the place of the Negro unalterably somewhere between that of man and beast, then we have no right to the chance for which I plead.

A prominent religious writer has advised the black man to refrain from aping the white man's civilization and to make a civilization of his own. That advice would have been void of offence to thinking Negroes but for the meaning of the term "white man's civilization," for by it he indicated the highest civilization, as if this were the exclusive possession of the white man. Some one has said that the theory that this is a white man's country is a damnable heresy, and I believe it is. But there is a more damnable heresy still, and that is the theory that the highest civilization is the peculiar and exclusive possession of the white man. Civilization is the combined product of many peoples in many ages of the world, and it is the rightful heritage of all succeeding peoples in all succeeding ages of the world. It is criminal,

therefore, for those who were first favored with its benefits to withhold it from their less favored brethren.

But it is not only for the right of the black man to share in the privileges of the highest civilization that I plead. Every race, like every generation, has a right not only to the benefits of the highest civilization of its day, but also to the opportunity of contributing something to it. If the Negro is to add his own peculiar contribution to the high civilization in the light of which he lives and moves and has his being, he must of necessity be given the time and the freedom to produce it. Just what the nature of that contribution is to be, let no man as yet presume to predict or to determine. Fifty years is too short a time for a people to find itself, to say nothing of its peculiar part in the great world's work.

As yet the Negro has been too fettered and bound in the meshes of his own intricate problem to give anything like a complete demonstration of his possibilities or his powers in the realm of higher mental achievement. He has been too busy with the foundation of the house of racial development to devote very much time to the superstructure as yet. Thus far he has been too possessed with the paralyzing spell of self-consciousness to be at his best as an actor in the drama of racial achievement. And the freedom for which we most earnestly plead to-day, my friends, is freedom from this hypnotic spell. And until we shall have this larger freedom let others refuse to fix our racial place or to assign our racial task. Not until the Negro is thus free will he be free indeed, and not until then will he bring his best contribution to the altar of human civilization. And let me say, as I conclude, that, in spite of the darkness of the picture which I have painted this afternoon, we are very hopeful indeed. My people for two hundred and fifty years wore the yoke of slavery without losing faith, without losing heart. Out of that awful period there came those songs of hope, the jubilee melodies that God put within the tongues of the black men and women that they might not grow weary, that they might not despair. You cannot crush a people so long as they sing, and we are singing to-day loudly and lustily as our fathers of old,

"Oh, brother, don't grow weary!
Oh, brother, don't grow weary!"

And we are not going to grow weary. We believe, yea, we know, that manhood, moral worth, and character,

like truth when crushed to earth, will rise again, and that no power under heaven is able permanently to keep them down. By the invincible power of these higher possessions we shall yet inherit the promises of larger freedom and opportunity, of greater growth and achievement. Here in the land of our captivity we shall yet sing the song of our full redemption and triumph.



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